This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

[redacted]

The
Gordon Lester Ford
Collection
Presented by his Sons
Worthington Chauncey Ford
and
Paul Leicester Ford
to the
New York Public Library

The
Gordon Lester Ford
Collection
Presented by his Sons
Worthington Chauncey Ford
and
Paul Leicester Ford
to the
New York Public Library.

Anticipation,
CK

To the Hon.ble Robert Clifford
from the Editor

VOL. IST.

OF

ANTICIPATION,

ON

POLITICS, COMMERCE,

AND

FINANCE,

DURING THE PRESENT CRISIS.

CONTAINING

Twenty-two Letters,

From Old Politicians in the Shades,

TO

YOUNG POLITICIANS IN THE SUN-SHINE.

WITH OTHER VERY IMPORTANT MATTER.

"TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK."

London:

PRINTED BY W. GLINDON, (48) RUPERT-STREET, HAYMARKET,

And may be had of every Bookseller and Newsman in the United Kingdom.

1808.

The
Gordon Lester Ford
Collection
Presented by his Sons
Worthington Chauncey Ford
and
Paul Leicester Ford
to the
New York Public Library

By what species of misconception is it that the same arguments that may be honourably conveyed by the ear, by means of sound, cannot be, without disgrace, conveyed through the eye, by means of figures, written with a pen? there is an absurdity in making a distinction, that is so great, that to attempt the refutation of it, we should consider as equally absurd, and we see the day approaching when to DIRECT PUBLIC OPINION, will be one of the BUSINESSES of government, as it has always been one of its DUTIES.

To make the people happy, is one point to be aimed at by every government, and happiness and contentment are very nearly allied to each other, but whilst there are, daily, libels issuing against government, from the press, unanswerd, there must be discontent: and prosecution of the authors will not answer the purpose.

Opinion, is beyond the reach of force or power, and if it is affected by its exertion, it is in an unfavuorable way. The Christian religion itself ceased to extend its influence, when its followers ceased to be persecuted, and history furnishes many similar examples.

The Jewish religion, is the only one extant of great antiquity, and it is the only one that has been publicly persecuted for two thousand years in every country. Persecution produces a negative effect on the mind, contrary to what is wished, and intended to be produced.

To expose error, and answer what is wrong by writing, would be the best way, even had the law the means of always punishing; but, in England, the law has not that means, of which the existence of several journals that appear weekly is a proof.

Convinced that the peace of this country, is very intimately connected with the opinion of the people, the following periodical work, ANTICIPATION, was begun some time ago, and it has been carried on in the same spirit, with which it commenced. It never has, nor ever will decend to scurrility in its manner, nor will it ever admit a sentiment, or a line contrary to sound morality, or the established religion and government of the country.

It is not necessary to say much on this subject, for the work is known, its originality and candour are generally acknowledged, and for those errors that naturally occur in the course of a periodical work; (that must appear at a certain time) the editor begs some indulgence from the good nature of his readers, observing, that, as he cannot fill up his pages with

copies from other papers, or with news, or advertisements; he has rather more to do, than where an editor only supplies a quarter of a column, or a few lines, and sometimes not even one line from his own resources.

With the intention that reigns through ANTICIPATION, the friends of their king and country will be well satisfied, as they have been, and it is scarcely necessary to observe, that every work that promotes unanimity and contentment, deserves to be encouraged by those who set any value on the peace and tranquility of the country *.

It is not necessary to be a profound observer, to see that opinion governs mankind, and that therefore, all those who are interrested in their being well governed, whether ministerial men or not, are only doing their duty and consulting their interest, when they direct public opinion, in such a way as is favourable to general tranquility, happiness and peace.

The members of opposition, know the value of public opinion, and that the way to obtain it is by the press, and they do not conceal their way of thinking, and we cannot but admire their success. By means of their pamphleteers, they contrived to persuade a number of people, that Mr. Pitt was almost as guilty as General Mack, and that Lord Lauderdale's ridiculous embassy to Paris, was a good specimen of deplomatic abilities. But ministers ought to known the value of the press, for they feel its influence in a very disadvantageous way. They have let Cobbett, by his domineering style, frighten them into a tame attention to his abuse, and they stand with their hands across, and allow him to convert half the nation into malcontents.

There is a minister, in a high department, of amiable manners and great talents, who himself laboured in the anti-jacobin, and who in a manly manner, avowed to the senate, that he was proud of the service he had rendered his country; but, so long as the ministers of the crown, keep their connection with the press a secret, as a young student con-

* Some very pertinent observations on this subject, will be found in the letter from Marat the French Gazetteer, to Peter Cobbett, the English Gazetteer. He tells the plain truth, and confesses he met with more subscribers amongst the creditors of the state, placemen, and pensioners, whom he proposed to murder, than the King's Friend, (the name of a newspaper) written on purpose to protect them. The natural consequence took place, and those persons who had so stupidly, or thoughtlessly encouraged Marat, were all either victims or compelled to save themselves by flight.

ceal s is early amours, so long will Bonaparte and his enemies, get th world to think that they are fighting for peace, and England for ambition; we, therefore, call upon them loudly to do justice to their country, and to the cause in which it is engaged, and to themselves.

We may be suspected of writing for our own interest, and as the only thing we admire in the enemies of government, is that they boldly say what they want, and take openly the best method they can to obtain it, we avow, that, as we do government a real service, we expect that government will feel the obligation. If it is asked, whether we would not serve any government the same way, we answer directly and frankly, "That we would not." That though the reign of the talents, brought authors from all quarters, (and even from beyond the Tweed), rewarding them liberally, and though we admired the wisdom of the ministers in doing so, we never bowed at their levy, or rendered them a service, or asked from them a boom; but, when in plenitude of power, we attacked Lord Grenville, and condemned the measures persued by him and his associates, before the time that they had the folly and insolence to try to deceive their sovereign.

We wish goverment frankly and openly, to employ the abilities, not of one, but of many, to set public opinion right, and to counteract those writings which elude the grasp of the attorney-general, or which, when grasped, only scorch him the more. We dislike the orators who inflame the passions of the people, and we know very moderate abilities, are equal to that task; but, time and imprisonment are no punishments to men, supported by the voluntary contributions, and by the applause of the people. As the apostle gloried in his bounds, and Christopher Columbus in exhibiting the chains, with which royal ingratitude repaid his services, so does a popular writer glory in imprisonment, while his cause gains incalculably, by the inefficient attempt to inflict punishment.

As those whom we address, may not be inclined to believe us, we have only to add, that if we expected to be paid by ministers, we should flatter them, which we do not. Truth is not the way to obtain money from superiors or men in power.

N°. 1.

Printed by W. GLINDON,
48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published by R. FIELD,
9, Newcastle-Street, Strand.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

COMPRISING

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS	WAR AND PEACE	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY
AMERICAN LAWS	IMPROVEMENTS	TAXATION
NAVIGATION LAWS	IRISH AFFAIRS	MONOPOLY
EUROPEAN TRADE	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS	EXPENDITURE	PROVISIONS.

IN calling the public attention to the anticipation of future events, and the consideration of what it may be wise and well to do, it is necessary to take a review of the principal circumstances of the times, and the situation of this country, both with regard to its internal situation and external relations.

In ordinary times it may be sufficient to attend to affairs as they occur, and to let to-morrow provide for itself, and say, that "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" but the present moment is of a very different description from an ordinary one, as it is perfectly evident, that whether this nation continues to be great and powerful or not, it never can owe its greatness to the same circumstances that have formerly existed.

Whatever the fate of this country may be, its situation will be different, both externally and internally, from what it ever has been; and as we are at the commencement of a new order of things, measures of precaution and foresight are absolutely necessary.

At every former period, since the fall of the Roman Empire, the variety of interests amongst nations, if it did not constitute what could be termed a complete balance of power, at least secured individual countries from any very sudden revolution, or any severe overthrow.

The case is now so completely altered, that the revolution and overthrow of a nation is reckoned an ordinary event, and nearly the whole of Europe has undergone

a change, and is reduced to obey one master, whose ruling passion is power, and whose predominant object of ambition is the ruin of England.

Whether that is likely to be a durable and permanent state of things or not, we shall consider at a future period, but as it is the existing state of things, it renders the situation of this country perfectly without a precedent, and we ought to be occupied on other affairs than private interests or party animosities; for it is not at all a matter of doubt that *one great object alone ought to occupy us at this time*, THE SAFETY OF THE COUNTRY. The present contest involves the fate of every thing deserving our consideration, for wretched as the nations on the Continent are that kneel to Bonaparte, they are on a bed of roses, in comparison, to the situation to which this island, if conquered, would be reduced.

Those who let personal interest stand in the way of national safety, should consider, that if self is the object, they are wrong, for they must fall with the nation—they act like a seaman, who, when a ship is in danger of sinking, quarrels with the captain about his wages.

The misfortune of party quarrels is that, though for private purposes, they assume the appearance of public advantage. Those who are out of the administration, say they only want to get in, that they may manage better for the nation! and in ordinary times such a plea may be allowed, because it is natural enough for men to grasp at power and emolument, and an opposition to government acts as a controul upon ministers, without bringing any great danger on the country; but the present case is quite different, opposition does bring danger, and a controul on government, at other times salutary and useful, is now injurious in the extreme. We are now contending for our existence with a power, all the energies of which are directed by a man of great abilities, and who is without any controul.

The contest in that respect is by no means equal, and the disadvantage is on our side; but as this is an inconvenience which we are not likely to get rid of, it is for the public itself to strengthen the government, whoever ministers are, by granting them support: we are not fighting for ministers, but for ourselves, and though we may prefer one set of men to another, or differ in opinion about which are the fittest, yet we must all see that to counteract those who are conducting our affairs, is like fettering our legs when we are going to run for a great prize.

In former times, not only was the continent of Europe divided into different nations, with different interests, but each government was counteracted by the cabals and intrigues of the parties at court, for though there was no regular and constitutional controul, like that of our parliament, yet there was in every court a very real and existing opposition.

Again—what further put England on a footing of equality in this point with other nations, was the public opinion in those nations which limited the exertions of the sovereigns, so that no monarch in Europe, where the form of goverment was the most arbitrary, could be said to be without controul, as popular opinion limited him in the exertion of his power in raising taxes, levying troops, and even in many points of less importance.

While the continental nations were in this manner counteracted by each other from without, and controuled by court intrigue and popular opinion within, England with her constitutional and regular opposition in parliament, was on a fair equality; but now matters are very different.

The whole of the Continent may be said to form one mass of power, animated by the will of one man, who is under no controul, either from court intrigue or popular opinion, and that man the inveterate enemy of England.

As the truth of this statement cannot be

denied, so likewise it is difficult not to see the natural consequence. If England continues to be shackled in her operations, as formerly, she will be crippled till the season for resistance will be gone, and the energy she may be willing to exert will be of little avail.

The situation of the Continent is now such that, if it could be permanent, there is little doubt that Britain would be unable to preserve her independence for any great length of time; but there are many and great reasons for thinking that the state of things on the Continent is not of a permanent, but rather of a very evanescent nature, and that perseverance on our part may enable us to arrive at a period when opposite interests, internal cabals, and popular opinion, will restore the equilibrium, and put nations once more upon a footing of something like freedom and equality.

The great change effected on the Continent renders it impossible for this country to enjoy the blessings of peace, such as they formerly were enjoyed. We shall not, till the state of Europe changes, sit secure, with a reduced army and navy, that do not both together cost five millions a year, as was the case previous to 1793; our situation is therefore changed, whether we continue at war or conclude a peace, which latter state, if it were to be obtained to-morrow, on the most advantageous terms, would, unfortunately, not restore to us the blessings with which it formerly was attended.

As the situation of the country is thus, in regard to the army and navy, and to its expenditure, very materially changed, it is necessary to prepare for a permanent exertion on our part, as peace will not bring with it the usual advantages or the accustomed relief.

Another circumstance of importance, at the present time, is the situation of commerce, from which this country has been supposed to derive principally its wealth and importance. We have not yet had time to know how far the new situation of things will affect our prosperity; or whether the effect may not be more sudden and severe on some of the nations on the Continent, but of two things we may be well satisfied—first, that the more we increase the inconvenience to continental nations, the more likely will they be to break the coalition, and resist that arbitrary power by which they are at present governed, and that, therefore, by annoying them we decrease the chance of durability, in the present inauspicious order of things.

In the second place, if we seek for new channels of commerce, and new fields for industry at home, we increase our resisting power—we diminish the inconvenience of the present order to ourselves, and thereby augment our chance of coming off with safety from the contest, for it is for safety and existence that we fight, it is not for possessions, for glory or for victory.

To improve our own condition and annoy the enemy, are then two things, after which, we ought strenuously to endeavour, and all hands and hearts should unite for the purpose, without any other consideration than the good of the country.

One of the evils attending the happy constitution of England is, that being complicated in its operations, the time and attention of those in power, and of members of parliament, are so taken up, as not to forward many improvements, of which this country is susceptible, which were at all times desirable, but are now become necessary.

To point out the modes of meliorating the situation of the people, and of augmenting the resources of the country, will be one of the principal objects of ANTICIPATION; and at the same time, by taking a free and unbiassed view of public matters, those who choose to avail themselves of it, will have more time to turn their attention to the improvement and augmentation of our resources, and in general to the bettering of

our situation as an insolated and independent people.

It has been so much the custom in this country to represent the nation as on the brink of ruin, that the adder has become deaf; but without insinuating that the country is in that situation, it is very certain, that if we do not find out other means of supporting our power and importance than we hitherto have done, that it soon will be so; we have, therefore, no time to lose in debates about what has been done, and about who was right or who was wrong; we must take things as they are, and make the best of them, if we mean to be employed with efficient utility for our own preservation.

It is meant here expressly to state, that those improvements in the interior, and those exertions to promote commerce abroad, which at former times would have been LAUDABLE and BENEFICIAL, have now become NECESSARY and INDISPENSABLE, and therefore do not admit of delay, but require all the promptitude that is consistent with success.

Any common observer must know that, of late years, the greatest part of the time of the representatives of the nation has been occupied, when in parliament, with objects that have but little connection with the great business of the nation. It can scarcely have escaped notice, also, that many of the subjects, most attended to, have come as if by accident before the house, or, if not accidentally, at least without any particular design, so that at the end of the sessions more than one half of the sittings have been occupied with objects, that, before it began, were not at all in contemplation.

At the present moment, there are some things of very great importance that require attention, they are far more important than discussions about Mr. Gifford of Dublin, or Sir Home Popham, or even the affair of Denmark, which is past and gone, or those series of discussions that will take place, on matters not yet thought of, and that will be forgotten in less than a week after they have been discussed.

Of the objects hitherto obtaining attention, the one that is most intimately connected with the interests of the nation, is the orders of council, but the business has hitherto been managed in a way that is not much calculated to promote advantage, as few of those who have spoke on the subject seem to understand it; and, unfortunately, the orders are so drawn up and worded, that things are very difficult to be understood; whereas, it would be of vast importance to have them made as intelligible and simple as possible.

One leading feature of the present day is, that the same persons who were enthusiastic admirers of the revolution, which overturned the mild monarchy of Lewis XVI. in order to establish a mixed government, rejoiced still more when that was overturned, kingly power abolished, and a sort of a republic put in its place; but what is more surprising still, is, that the same men are partial to most of the acts of Bonaparte, who has crushed liberty and threw both the bantling and its cradle into the den of despotism.

They admire, enthusiastically, those great talents that must indeed astonish all; but they do not condemn (or if they do, it is with great tenderness and apparent reluctance) or throw blame on any of the actions of the Emperor Napoleon, that are certainly at total variance with the principles they once admired.

It is, also, not a little remarkable, that the same men are very severe on any act of the English government, that seems in any way censurable, for which conduct it is very difficult to account, except it be attributed to an attachment to whatever is *new and French*, and an antipathy to whatever is *old and English*.

Certain it is that love of liberty, regard

for an honourable, a generous, or humane conduct, can attach no one to Bonaparte; yet, men who boast much of their devotion to the cause of liberty, speak in terms of infinite complacency and respect of the man who tramples it under his feet. This is not the least of the wonders of this age, and it can only be credited, because we are so positive that it is so, that we cannot doubt or deny its reality.

The aggressions of France on neutral territory are now so common, they have been so long practised, and so often repeated, that they have ceased to attract attention. They are considered as mere matters of course, and it would appear as if the maxim had been adopted; that custom constitutes right.

Those who are not very old may remember, how the seizure of the insignificant territory of *Avignon* by the French, in the beginning of the revolution, was condemned by the majority, and defended by a few; but now the seizure of a kingdom is considered as a matter not deserving any sort of investigation. Those who are injured, scarcely complain, and those who commit the injury do not deign to offer an excuse.

Taking in view all circumstances, both physical and moral, there is a total change on the Continent of Europe, and that change is very unfavorable to this country; and sooner or later, must either produce a change here, or be itself again changed; for we never can be so blind as to indulge in the expectation, of things going on as they formerly did, in this single spot, when all over the rest of Europe they have undergone an alteration!

We have then to choose whether we are to sit blindfolded and wait for events, taking all the evil consequences that result from what comes upon us when we are unprepared; or by ANTICIPATING the case, provide for that new state of things, which will most probably arise from the present new and uncommon situation of affairs.

With respect to such subjects as are to be brought before parliament for discussion, we shall endeavour always, as much as possible, to get possession of the rights of the case, so, as by a fair statement, we may abridge the labour of those who will have to take the matter into consideration.

A great number of questions that come before the House are so involved in details, that they are unintelligible to persons who do not take long time to examine them, and is impossible for them to form any decided opinion; so that an honest man votes with those he thinks most likely to be right, or he takes a plain and once general view of the question, and votes accordingly; but though this is in many cases little better than voting by chance, there is yet another and a greater evil, which is, that gentlemen who have not made themselves masters of a subject, are liable, without any fault of their own, to be biased by what they hear others say, who, perhaps, are interested. It is to be hoped that ANTICIPATION will be of utility in preventing that; for we shall endeavour to treat every question after the best information has been obtained, in such a way as will be easily and generally understood. We shall be particularly careful not to suppress any circumstance of a case that may be of importance in forming an opinion.

The subjects to be anticipated will be such as really are to come before parliament, such as ought to be brought before parliament, and such questions as arise out of the present rapid current of events, and are connected with general prosperity.

We do not pretend to have NO bias in political opinions, such pretensions are dishonest and absurd, as well as an affront to the public. Neither do we think if a person could write or act without a bias, there would be any great praise in that. We do not understand honor founded either on ig-

norance or indifference, though dignified by the name of Impartiality.

The honor or blame lies in the motive for the partiality, not in the partiality itself, because it is impossible for any man to be without forming an opinion on a subject in which he is interested; but to use a home argument, if, to be of no party is the mark of an honest man, there are very few of that description in England, for every person takes one side or the other; and when they become so indifferent as not to do that, we shall no longer either be able to preserve liberty or deserve to enjoy it.

Maintaining, then, that impartiality is impossible, and that it is not in the thing, but the motive, consists the good or bad, we avow our determination to lean to the government of the country, and support it, but not in that blind manner that is both guilty and dangerous.

We shall neither approve nor blame a measure, because it originates on one or other side of the House, but take it on its own merits; considering, however, in all cases, that men in office are compelled to act, and being men, not angels, must sometimes act wrong; and that to be able to rush from under a cover, and load them with abuse, is not very difficult for men who have any augmentative abilities, aided with eloquence, wit, and sophistry, and a high pretension to honor and morality.

Having already said WHAT we mean to do, we shall now say HOW we mean to do it. The ordinary, or usual mode in political affairs is to begin by arguments, arriving by degrees at a conclusion; but that method has a considerable disadvantage, at least it appears so to us, in so far as it leaves the reader at a loss to know what is the ultimate intention and the end proposed, so that the whole has the appearance of what is termed, in common and familiar language, a PREAMBLE.

No man ever followed a better plan than Euclid in his mathematical works—whether problems or theorems, he began by saying what he could do, or what he wished to try if he could do.

When Euclid wished to shew that the three angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles, he began by saying, that they were so, and then went into his proofs.

We shall endeavour, to the best of our power, to follow the method of Euclid; for though we know well, that the conclusions we draw from the nature of things, cannot be so positive and certain, yet that is not any reason for not following the method which is quite unexceptionable.

Those readers who know the difference between the absolute and positive conclusions (of which mathematical questions alone admit) will not expect that on other subjects the demonstration can be equally undeniable; but admitting and allowing the difference that arises from the nature of the investigation, we hope they will approve of the method, and as our conclusions cannot be so absolute, so our positions shall be laid down with diffidence.

We claim their indulgence, and trusting to their good-nature, shall, as far as in our power, try to prove what we are inclined to think; and we hope they will at least give us credit for never attempting to make a parade of reasoning in favour of what we do not believe to be right.

Sophistry we despise—good sense we admire—and if ever we adopt the former or abandon the latter in any argument, it will be from ignorance, not from intention; for our idea is, that this country is really in a very serious situation, and that its true interests ought to be sought after with seriousness and good intention, and not sported with as matters of little importance.

Ever since the gothic darkness that succeeded the fall of the Roman empire, men have exercised their talents in argument; and from the time that Abelard founded the

Paraclet, and reasoned to his scholars in the desert, to the present moment, there have been professed orators and professed metaphysicians, whose great pride has been to maintain what they did not believe, and by beating down their antagonists, display their superior abilities.

We take a more humble, and we hope a more useful, and we are sure a more honest rule—that is, *to speak what we think*, and explain our meaning as well as we can, and let those who do us the favour to attend to what we say, judge.

Farther explanation we suppose unnecessary, let our work speak for itself.

WAR OR PEACE.

THIS is evidently the most important subject that now presents itself for investigation, but hitherto any thing said on either side of the question, seems but little to the purpose.

As an abstract question, a state of peace is always better than a state of warfare; but in any and in every particular case, circumstances are to be taken into consideration, and that was never so necessary as on the present occasion.

All wars are attended with bloodshed and expence, and when the object in view is an acquisition of a little territory, the question ought to be very minutely examined, and nine times out of ten, it would be found that peace ought to be immediately concluded, but in the present case, we fight for our existence.

"*The prize contended is great Hector's life.*"

In such a situation of things, and that situation cannot be denied, the question is not of war or peace, but whether by war or peace we are most likely to preserve the situation in which we have hitherto been, our lives, liberties, and independence.—Whether Britain is to remain a free, independent, and a powerful nation, or sink, like Holland, or Spain, or Italy, or Portugal, under the insolent dominion of the most insolent people on earth.

As friends, as visitors, or as hosts, the French are the most agreeable people in the world; but as masters, they are the most insupportable;—their insolence knows no bounds; and injustice and oppression are never unattended with mockery and reproach.

If our Divine Lord and Master had said of a wicked man, "that it were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were thrown into the sea;" well may we say, that better for Britain to be sunk in the ocean, than subjected to the French.

The scenes that have been acted in other countries, even in Hanover, (the most opressed of all, because the most odious, though most innocent) by the French soldiery and their leaders, would appear mercy and moderation to what we are to expect in Britain, were we to fall; whether that most terrible of all destinies can be best averted by war, or by peace, becomes the question, not the *primary question*, but the only question; for neither war nor peace, simply as such, are deserving of any consideration, except so far as they tend to preserve the British empire.

As to war, we must now consider we are waging it with the WHOLE continent of Europe, and therefore, that if we conclude a peace, we are to conclude it with the WHOLE Continent.

So long as France remains not only the mistress, but the absolute and SOLE mistress of the continent, we may speak of treating with France or Bonaparte; but the fact is, that to treat with him at present, is to treat with the man who may be said to represent and command the WHOLE of the civilized world, this country excepted.

In speaking of peace, then, we are to consider what conditions that world might think equitable; what conditions would give satisfaction, and insure a permanent peace.

We are next to consider whether that peace would be attended with danger, or if it would be safe, so as that under it we might remain happy and independent!

These are all questions, the discussion of which we shall endeavour to anticipate in a way that may be of some utility, for as the parties at war, (between them,) rule the world, the reconciliation cannot be effected on sound principles, or in a permanent way, without stipulating for grand objects.

It is not at all impossible, nor even improbable, that France might conclude a treaty, with the terms of which she would by no means be satisfied; such was the treaty of Amiens, and such would have been the treaty that Mr. Fox proposed by Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale; and such would be any peace that does not give to France, that is, the Continent of Europe, a footing on the Continent of India.

Any peace without that will be evanescent and illusory.

The commerce of India has been to European nations an object of ambition, and a cause of war, from the time of Solomon, when the Tyrians, Egyptians, Arabians (Babylonians), Persians, and Israelities, all aspired at that lucrative commerce.

The conquests of Alexander, the Carthaginian wars, and at a later period, the contests between Venice and Genoa, and the Eastern empire, were chiefly excited by a desire to possess exclusively the trade to India.

At a later period still; after the ancient Channels, by the Desert and the Persian Gulph, or across the Isthmus of Swez, became of little importance, and the passage by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered; the Portuguese and Dutch, and then the English and French, have had perpetual contests.

If then, for a period of rather more than three thousand years, without regard to barbarism or civilization, the *trade to India* has embroiled so many nations, are we to suppose, or is it in any degree likely, that one single nation shall not only have the trade, but the territory exclusively to itself? No; this is not to be expected; and, if one nation has all the territory, though it may grant to others a liberty to trade, yet that will only serve as a cause of further contention, for the rest of the world will not be contented to accept as a BOON that which they consider as a RIGHT, or to hold by a *tenure at will*, what they consider as *permanently* essential to their welfare and prosperity.

That the Continent of Europe will expect this participation is certain, and that if they do not obtain it by treaty, they will strive to obtain it by force, or by other means, so that no treaty in which a partition of India does not form a part will be secure, or of long duration.

Here the subject branches out into another consideration. Will such a partition not lead to the total loss of India to Britain? Will the partition itself (the price of peace) not give occasion for other wars, and increase that interference of interests which it is intended to avoid?

Those are important questions; yet, unless they are discussed, it is in vain to talk of peace on general terms, or on that flimsy basis that was treated on at Amiens; or by Lord Lauderdale, at Paris; or that is spoken of by some, and written about by others, who seem to think that the island of Sicily, or the Danish fleet, or some other object of little importance, is the great bar to peace.

The fact is, that in respect to commerce in a general sense of the term, England and France are by no means rivals; *wints*,

brandies, fruits, and the produce of her soil, are her staple articles of export, and we furnish neither, but consume a great deal of all, so far from being rivals there we ought to trade like friends. Again, our exports consist of *manufactured goods*, such as France never will send forth on equal terms with us, and such as it is not her object to manufacture either equally cheap, or equally perfect; so that here, also, we are not rivals; but when we begin to speak of colonies, or foreign possessions, the case is quite altered, and there WE ARE rivals. Yes. There Britain and the Continent of Europe are at issue, and there can be no blinking of the question.

We think, with Mr. Burke, that there is no piety in the fraud that conceals danger, or gives to a nation a temporary but perilous security.

We cannot have a secure and permanent peace, without ceding some part of India, and a temporary peace would be more dangerous than a continuance of war.

If the question was to let France have some part of India, and Holland, and Portugal, as formerly; or by a new arrangement, to let Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and other nations participate, it might be well enough, but that is not the question—The question at this time is, to let *France*, that is the *Continent of Europe*, acting in one mass, obtain a footing in India.

There are in the present, as in most other cases of difference, two causes of variance: that is, there are two obstacles in the way of peace. The one is a real obstacle—rivalship in commerce; the other is a jealousy and animosity, arising from circumstances of a temporary nature, and that may be done away.

The first of those, as we have already mentioned, is the trade and territory to India, the only thing Britain exclusively possesses; the second is the vexation that the French feel, at believing the British government still to be misled by emigrants, and excited to irritation, and a very disagreeable feeling with respect to those who now enjoy power in France.

As unfortunate persons it is painful to speak what may add to the sufferings of the emigrants; but where the welfare, not only of one nation, or of two nations, but of the world, is at stake, we must do our duty to the best of our power, and state the case as it is.

The first misfortunes of the revolution, undoubtedly were connected with the emigration, and the open hostility of those who took up arms, was even less offensive than the bitter irony, the affected contempt, and the sarcasms of which the new rulers, their laws, and all their actions became the objects.

The nobles, with titles and decorations, in the midst of adversity, continued that spirit of *persiflage*, that is absolute torture to a Frenchman, and England protected, paid, and encouraged those men.

At a certain period, humanity required this: generosity continued what humanity began; but there is a measure even in madness sometimes, and there ought always to be some prudence in whatever relates to the peace of a nation.

During the last peace, the emigrants gave great offence to France; the more so that a great part of those very men are spies upon the English government, and exaggerate the circumstances into which they are hired to enquire.

It is not necessary to be deeply acquainted with the theory of the human mind, to know that there is not a more rankling, or inveterate animosity, excited by any circumstance, than by the sudden elevation to wealth or power on the one hand, and the sudden sinking from rank and splendour into poverty on the other.

When this happens amongst people scarcely at all connected, and no ways at

variance in interest, still the feelings are disagreeable; but in the present case the matter is still worse, for the estates of those very nobles, who were reduced to indigence, formed the principal basis of the newly acquired fortunes, so that the animosity in this case had a real foundation, and it was proportionally violent and severe.

At the same time, then that it will become a matter of enquiry, how the interests of the two nations may be made to agree, it may be proper, and certainly it will be wise, to remove any disagreeable feelings that stand in the way of reconciliation.

Such are the preliminary considerations with respect to peace, if peace is to be desired, but that is a consideration of another sort; for as has been already said, the question of peace or war is totally subservient to that of the lasting prosperity of this country, and its independence as a nation.

The circumstance of the continent of Europe forming only one mass, whether directly hostile to England or not, is one attended with great danger, we ought then to consider whether a state of war or peace is most likely to consolidate or to break that formidable mass; and it is in this way, that, in our opinion, the expediency of war or peace is to be discussed.

One thing is certain, that mankind never will, for any long period, submit to those privations and inconveniences with which the war is at the present moment attended on the continent. It is also pretty certain, that the fear of the French diminishes, and that the desire to break the connection increases, and, therefore, it probably is for our interest to continue the war, and let this progress go on for some time longer.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

LEWIS XVIII. AND FRENCH PRINCES.

NO man of common sense can avoid anticipating a difficulty that must arise, relative to the supposed great, and, in some degree, real connection, between the government of this country and the princes of the House of Bourbon.

It is evident, that the present ruler of France, both hates and fears the members of that Family. This was written in characters of blood, in the wood of Vincennes, on the body of the murdered Duke D'Enghein; and there is, also, another proof in the discussions with Lord Whitworth, previous to the commencement of hostilities, that the connection with the emigrants coupled with, the conduct of many amongst them, has excited a considerable degree of animosity. We call the attention of our country to that subject; we are sorry that it is necessary to enter upon the personal conduct of Lewis XVIII. but that act which he imprudently committed in his declaration, has made him, if possible, more obnoxious to the French nation than even the worst of the Stuarts ever were to the people of

England, and as this is not generally known, it is with that view we have inserted the following letter.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION TO LEWIS XVIII.

SIR,

IN addressing you on a subject, that according to your known opinions, I mean to treat in a way that will not meet with your approbation, I must beg leave to state my manner of feeling towards your person and family.

If any expression, either of disrespect, or unbecoming levity, or familiarity escapes me, it must be from mistake, not from intention—Misfortune in all cases is sacred, but when rank, splendour, and greatness fall, something like reverential awe is inspired; withme it is so, and I should be the last man in his Britannic Majesty's dominions, to say any thing bearing the feature of hostility to Lewis XVIII.

As an object of British hospitality and generosity, I approve highly either of royal or parliamentary munificence extended toward you; and even oppressed with expences as the nation is, I should be sorry to see economy or reform begin by withdrawing from you what is necessary to support, in some degree, the dignity of the House of Bourbon.

Having said so much, I must proceed to observe, that there are some considerations neither of a pecuniary nor of a personal nature, but of much higher importance, that press upon my mind: when I say of much higher importance, I mean far superior to any considerations that relate to the expence that may result to this country, from any pension that it may become English munificence to grant, or a prince of your rank and dignity to receive.

Lest you should for a moment suppose that it is the fear of giving offence to the person who sits upon the throne of France, that I consider as the great and important consideration, I must begin, by saying, that it is not; for I hope Britain will never be dictated to on such an occasion.

You cannot, Sir, be ignorant that you at this time stand in a situation that is singular in the extreme; and you cannot be ignorant that (to use the appropriate and very significant and phraseology of your own country) your are the most *inconvenient personage in Europe*; * not so much from the claim you maintain to the throne of your ancestors, as from the manner in which you maintain that claim.—To your manner of doing that, I attribute, in part the misfortunes of your country, and the prolonged miseries of Europe.

If I am wrong, it will be important to set me right--If I am not wrong, it will be highly important that the affair should be properly understood.

It cannot have escaped your notice, Sir, that your MANIFESTO, or DECLARATION, made twelve years ago, has produced the most baneful effects, as, since then, every country in which you have taken up your residence, has become the peculiar object of hatred and conquest to the French. Yet after all this, you come over to England, not as a person invited, or acknowledged, but trusting to English generosity for permitting you to remain, though, *by the conduct* of those by whom you are surrounded, that circumstance throws considerable impedi-

* *Un personage bien incommode*—That is, one who occasions trouble to all around.

ments in the way of a peace with France; an object in itself sufficiently difficult, and by many very earnestly desired.

The declaration expressive of your will and intention if you should mount the throne of France, "To re-establish the ancient form of government entire, as before the revolution, and re-instate the emigrants in their estates," though founded on a claim of hereditary right, was in reality a *virtual abdication*, inasmuch as it declared your determination to restore that which was both morally and physically impossible to be restored; and if it is necessary to express the fact in terms still more strong, it rendered you and your family, once so much beloved by the majority of the French nation, more feared and abhorred than the most obscure usurper from the most distant corner of the universe.

It was that declaration and your pertinacity in wishing to compel the French nation to retrace its steps; to undo all that it had done; to unsay all that it had said, and wade through fields of blood, to make the *amend honorable* (humbly ask pardon) at the feet of the insolent emigrants, that raised the steps by which Napoleon mounted and seated himself on the throne of the Bourbons.

If the substance of your declaration was inconsistent with your interest, the moment at which it appeared was not more auspicious. France was at that time convinced that a REPUBLIC, in so populous, so extensive, and turbulent a country, was a mere chimera; that LIBERTY and EQUALITY were only words by which the people were led astray, and still groaning under the recent tyranny of Robespierre, they thirsted after repose, and sighed for the return of regal government; when your advisers, with a degree of arrogance and folly to which it is difficult to give a name, and for which it is impossible to account, persuaded you to promulgate that declaration, which put an end, for ever, to the possibility of your restoration.

The history of makind, which, indeed, is unfortunately by little else than a record of the errors, follies, and vices of men, affords many examples of sovereigns on their thrones trampling on the people and binding them to their will, but it was reserved for you, Sir, to shew the example of a prince driven from his native land, dictating the terms on which he was determined to mount a throne he never had filled, and that too in direct opposition to the people he aspired at governing.

But whether you were madly obstinate or ill-advised; is not the most important question. Let us look at the consequences.

From that moment you have become an object of hatred and terror to the French nation; and your manner of expressing yourself was so positive and pointed, that there is no hope of any change in your opinion; so that unless the French people can resolve on another terrible revolution in your favour, you are for ever excluded from the throne of France; and, consequently, until every nation disclaims your cause, France cannot enjoy repose, and the dynasty of Napoleon, though he be a Corsican, and a stranger is preferred to that of a prince of the House of Bourbon who, at such an expence, would restore the ancient order of things, and the estates of the emigrants.

It is now too late to enquire with whom the error originated; but a nation when it errs has some right to be tenacious, and with force in hand, cannot be expected to retrace its steps, merely to have the honor of replacing an injured family, supposing the injury admitted and acknowledged, (which has not been done) but even if there were an inclination of that sort, the inflexibility of the other party, would be an excuse for refusing to comply.

Having, Sir, in this voluntary, and, permit me to say, unnecessary manner, shut the door to your return, and destroyed all hope of your ever ascending the throne of your ancestors! why do you not hasten to put an end to uneasiness and misfortunes of mankind, by a formal and voluntary resignation of a right, which is now become an insurmountable reason for exclusion?

Perhaps, those wise and worthy characters who surround your person, may still be willing to flatter and deceive you; their interests and vanity may lead them to hide the truth, which is, that you neither can do justice to yourself, to the other branches of your family, to your own country, or to the world, without abandoning a claim to the throne of France, founded on hereditary right. When that right existed, previous to your declaration, it might have been modified and adapted to the disposition of the parties; but whilst you live that is impossible. Renounce that right, and then you may have some chance; while you claim it you can have none, for you have attached to it a condition with which the French people never will, and never can comply.

What made the English resolve to take King William the First, then Queen Ann, and, lastly, George the First, in preference to the direct line of princes? why, because they got quite free from the question of hereditary right, and with it of that disposition to maintain those prerogatives which the Tudors had possessed, which the Stuarts inherited, and which, after the Restoration, they constantly struggled to restore.

Charles the Second, when an emigrant prince like yourself, was more wise and more moderate in his declaration than you, though he was neither famed for wisdom nor moderation; but his brother James, more like to you, considered it as a point of honor to maintain the religion and prerogative of his ancestors, whether it was agreeable to the nation or not. You know the speedy termination of that struggle, and the misfortunes he entailed on his posterity.

As you have committed an act that has connected the claims of the House of Bourbon with the ancient order of things and the restoration of emigrant property, you might see that the only way left is to abandon your claim of right, and then you may have some chance of mounting the throne, but now you have none. By giving up your claim of right, you get debarrassed of your arrogant, odious, and ill-timed declaration; by preserving it, you keep that weight attached to it which must sink you to the bottom. It would, with respect to yourself and all the princes of the House of Bourbon, be wise to renounce a contaminated claim, which, as it now stands, is a real cause of exclusion. To your country and to the world it would be an act of justice.

So long as you maintain your right, the ancient orders, the restoration of the emigrants estates, and the return of the Bourbons, are inseparable in the opinion of the French people; and, I believe, I do not say too much, that though the restoration of the Bourbons, in itself and upon proper conditions, would be agreeable to a great part of the nation, yet, accompanied with those terms, if the most detestable monster on earth were to defend the throne from such an occupant, he would be considered as a protector by the French.

Your family has been unfortunate, Sir, and you have been imprudent, in a way that renders that misfortune without a remedy, unless by giving up all right to reign, you throw yourself on the generosity of the nation, and by disincumbering yourself of your unwise and arrogant pretensions, open the door you have so imprudently shut.

I have now said, what not only in wis-

dom you ought to do for yourself, but in justice to all nations; as to your own nation, you are the terror of France, and preserve Bonaparte on his seat, which might otherwise be overthrown, or the occupant be numbered with the Robespierres, Dantons, Brissots, and others, who have been the scourge of France.

In counselling you to give up what you can never occupy, while you preserve a claim, but what you may, perhaps, if you abandon it, I do not expect to alter your opinion, or sway your judgment, already so decidedly declared; but I have two things to add, that if *you* will not remedy the evil those who have it in their power so to do, may.

But, Sir, as you still keep surrounded by the same men who have misled you, it is to those who have a power to influence your conduct in another way that I must speak. In this, I have said enough to prepare both you and them for a very serious consideration on the subject.

THE EDITOR.

MONOPOLY AND HIGH PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

IN calling the attention of the legislature to this subject, we intend to convince our rulers from facts, that neither the landlords nor tenants are the persons who have raised provisions to the present high price, but that there are a set of intermediate persons, who pocket immense gains, and that such persons have started up within the last half century.

As the subject is very important, and will require long investigation, we shall, in the first place, begin with facts relative to the *price of bread*, not only because that is the most essential article, and regulates all the others, insomuch that *Down Corn, Down Horn*, is an old proverbial expression; but that it is capable of being investigated, so as to give a positive result better than any other. In short, with regard to bread, we trust that we shall be able to produce proofs, as well entitled to produce conviction, as if the subject were a question in geometry.

We shall begin with observing that the price of flour used formerly, that is, previous to the middle of the last century, to bear a certain natural and constant proportion to the price of wheat, but that now the price is *neither natural nor constant*.

One quarter of wheat weighs 480 lbs. and produces in general, 420 lbs. of flour, that is a sack and a half, the sack being 280 lbs.

The bran and pollard, (that is the outer and coarser parts of the wheat that are separated in the operation of grinding,) weigh 60 lb, and are sufficient in value to pay the expence of grinding. So that the *natural* and *unvarying price* of flour, should be a sack and a half for the price of the quarter of wheat. It is true, that the sack of flour produced is only fine flour; the half sack is what is termed second; so that, therefore, a sack of fine flour, and half a sack of second, should be sold for the price of a quarter of wheat.

As this is a very important fact, and as we assert it POSITIVELY, it is necessary to produce complete and undeniable proofs; we first, therefore, appeal to the registers for the price of bread, from which the price of flour can always be found exactly, and then by comparing the prices of flour and wheat for the last seventy years, we shall see whether what we say is true or not.

When we have shewn the error, we mean to point out a simple, efficacious, and safe remedy, and in so doing, we expect to merit the thanks of all good men, from the first landed proprietor in the kingdom to the poorest labourer.

THE FOLLOWING IS A TABLE, OF THE ASSIZE AND PRICE OF BREAD FOR SEVENTY-ONE YEARS.

The undermentioned statement is an accurate extract of the price of the quartern loaf, wheaten bread, at the commencement and conclusion of the several mayoralties therein stated, from the year 1735 to Nov. 9th, 1806, as entered at the town clerk's office, Guildhall.

Dates Nov. 9th.	Mayoralty.	Price of Qu. Loaf Wheaten Bread.
1735	Williams	5½
1736	Thompson	5½
1737	Barnard	5½
1738	Perry	5½
1739	Salter	6
1740	Parsons	7¼
1741	Godschall	5½
1742	Willmott	4¾
1743	Westley	4¼
1744	Marshall	4½
1745	Hoare	4¾
1746	Benn	5½
1747	Ladbroke	5
1748	Calvert	6
1749	Pennant	5½
1750	Cockayne	5½
1751	Winterbottom	6
1752	Gascoyne	5½
1753	Ironside	6½
1754	Janssen	5
1755	Bethell	5
1756	Dickenson	7½
1757	Asgill	7¼
1758	Glyn	6
1759	Chitty	5
1760	Blackiston	5½
1761	Fludyer	4½
1762	Beckford	5½
1763	Bridgen	6
1764	Stephenson	6½
1765	Nelson	7
1766	Kite	8
1767	Harley	8¼
1768	Turner	6½
1769	Beckford	6
1770	Crosby	6½
1771	Nash	7½
1772	Townshend	8
1773	Bull	7½
1774	Wilkes	8
1775	Sawbridge	6½
1776	Hallifax	6½
1777	Esdaile	7¼
1778	Plumbe	6½
1779	Kennett	5¾
1780	Lewes	7¼
1781	Plomer	7
1782	Newnham	8¼
1783	Peckham	7¼
1784	Clarke	7½
1785	Wright	6¼
1786	Sainsbury	6
1787	Burnell	6½
1788	Gill	6¼
1789	Pickett	7¼
1790	Boydell	7¾
1791	Hopkins	6½
1792	Sanderson	7¼
1793	Le Mesurier	7½
1794	Skinner	7½
1795	Curtis	12¼
1796	Watson	8½
1797	Anderson	9½
1798	Glyn	8
1799	Combe	13
1800	Staines	17½
1801	Eamer	10⅝
1802	Price	10
1803	Perring	10
1804	Perchard	13½
1805	Shaw	12¼
1806	Leighton	13¼

This table only shews the average, but that is what is most useful to know. For the information of those who are curious, we state that in 1743, Bread was for the last time, two weeks at 4d. the quartern loaf.—In 1756, it rose for four weeks to 9½d.—In 1795, was five weeks at 1s. 3d. and during the year 1800, at 1s. 10½d. for four weeks.

TABLE

OF THE AVERAGE PRICES OF WHEAT,

From the beginning of last Century to the present Time

			£.	s.	d.
1700	to	1710,	2	7	2¼
1710	--	1720,	2	4	11½
1720	--	1730,	2	5	7½
1730	--	1740,	2	0	11½
1740	--	1750,	1	15	2
1750	--	1760,	2	2	1¼
1760	--	1770,	2	5	10
1770	--	1780,	2	4	5½
1780	--	1790,	2	6	6
1790	--	1800,	3	12	0
1800	--	1808,	3	13	6

We see, from this, that from the beginning of the century, to 1790, wheat varied a little, but, upon the whole, did not rise a farthing, but rather fell; but from the year 1750, bread was always rising, as will more plainly appear from the following table.

TABLE of COMPARISON shewing the AVERAGE PRICES and the PROPORTION between the QUARTER of WHEAT, and of the FLOUR PRODUCED FROM THAT WHEAT. This Table is made out from the two Former.

YEARS.	Prices of Quarter of Wheat.	Price of Quartern loaf	Number of Loaves in a Quarter.	Value of Loaves.	Allowance to Baker.	Price of Sack of Flour as it was.	Sack of Flour as it ought to have been.	Difference between columns 7 and 9
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	£. s. d.	d.		£. s. d.	s.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.
From 1730 to 740	2 0 0	5½	*120	2 15 0	15	26 8	26 8	
1740 to 1750	1 15 2	5¼	*120	2 12 6	15	24 10	24 10	
1750 to 1760	2 1 2	6	*120	3 0 0	15	30 0	27 8	2 4 0
1760 to 1770	2 5 10	6½	*120	3 5 0	15	33 4	30 8	2 8 0
1770 to 1780	2 4 6	7	*120	3 10 0	15	36 8	30 0	6 8 0
1780 to 1790	2 6 6	7¾	*120	3 16 0	15	40 0	31 2	8 10 0
1790 to 1800	3 12 0	10	*120	5 0 0	18	54 8	48 0	6 8 0
1800 to 1808	2 10 0	11	*120	5 18 0	18	66 8	47 4	14 8 0

From these tables it appears, that at the beginning of the period, a sack of flour was two-thirds of the price of the quarter of wheat for twenty years together, which could not have been the case, unless what we have asserted were true, therefore we have the evidence of a long period, to prove that the *natural price of the sack of flour is two thirds of the price of a quarter of wheat.*

The present price of wheat, is about 71½; and if all the flour was fine, the sack should be two-thirds of that, or 47¼; but as there is half a sack of seconds, which is 2s. 6d. making 49s. 6d. for the price of fine flour at this time; instead of which, it is 61s. that is 11s. 6d. more than it would be if it preserved the old *natural rule* of proportion.

The foregoing statement must convince the most credulous, that Bread is not raised to its present price either by the Landlords or Farmers, and therefore the Members of both Houses may see that it is both their INTEREST and DUTY to look into the business; for the idea, that if Bread were to fall, the Tenant could not pay his rent, is not true as the Farmer would not be a shilling poorer, if the price were at this time at 9¼d.

This important article to be continued weekly.

BONAPARTE'S POLITICS.

THE politics of this extraordinary man will make a subject of long investigation and remark, for they are extremely extended in every direction; but we at the present time only mean to advert to them in the general outline, after which, we shall come to particulars, the consequences of which we shall point out.

The VIEWS UPON INDIA, the SUBJUGATION of the CONTINENT, and the RUIN of ENGLAND, are not by any means a secret, but many of the objects which are aimed at, are expected to be obtained by methods that are neither direct nor obvious.

Amongst the various means used by BONAPARTE to conquer those who are intended by him for destruction, none is more uniform, nor more complete, than that of his contriving either to BRIBE or CALUMNIATE all those who have *the most abilities amongst his adversaries.*—bribery he has employed with great success on the Continent; and the surrender of ULM, the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, are the fatal fruits. In this country Bribery can do little, probably nothing further than to purchase spies and obtain intelligence; but *calumny* may do much; though there are certain characters who are beyond its reach—There are other men who ought to be beyond its reach, if services and merit could effect that in all cases, but services and merit must be attended with prudence, circumspection, and above all, with favourable circumstances. TIME and CHANCE, which the wisest of men tells us happen unto all the human race, sometimes are favourable to character and sometimes not, so that it not unfrequently happens that men who do not deserve it get praise, and that men who deserve praise get censure, become suspected, and even are considered as guilty.

It would be odious to select examples, however we must, in following out this business, shew that much of the outcry in this country against certain men of known abilities, is excited by secret emissaries of the French ruler.

Let any one consider the superior degree of rancour with which men of talents are persecuted, compared with the proceedings against men of no importance. Lord Melville, Lord Wellesley, and Sir Home Popham, are examples of that; but your men of no abilities are not run down; they are, it would seem, not worth hunting. It would be easy to name some examples, and we cannot do wrong in observing, that so far as it was examined into, the strange appropriation of money by Mr. Steele, was of a worse complection than what was attributed to Lord Melville.

Mr. Whitbread and his friends, Mr. Paul and the noble Lord Folkstone, who carries up the rear. may be very seriously disposed to serve their country; but this they may depend upon, *that they have served the ruler of France in a most essential manner.*

The French are great calculators and in politics they are extremely ADROIT, a word adopted from their own language, and for which there is no equivalent in the English tongue,

ADROIT implies a readiness and facility in doing whatever is useful or necessary to be done, in a way that answers the purpose intended. So that it is a most comprehensive word. This same word ADROIT is no where to be foundin English, and being thus copiously explained, we have no hesitation in repeating, that in politics the very ADROIT, and, indeed, much more adroit than profound.

One great part of their calculating system is, to divide and disable their enemies before they fight them; and as they have been very successful in that attempt, it is unnecessary for us to aid or assist them in it.

Their own plan is to encourage abilities and reward success; they inquire nothing further about a man than a workman does about the implements of his labour.—Can he do the bussiness well? is always the question, and a very excellent mode of proceding it is, and sure to make their attempts successful, where success is possible.

If, in this country, we followed the same rule, (which by the bye, we only do in the navy) we should tower above the French, or at least succeed much better than we do; (but of this hereafter.) At present, the business is to shew, that by the same rule that the French employ, encourage, and reward, this *efficient, productive,* and *successful merit* at home; they make every effort to deprive their enemies of the same sort of assistance.

This is in the Cabinet, and in the Field, equally advantageous, and when we analize the victories of BONAPARTE, we shall find, not (like the author of an absurd pamphlet, published in the name of GENERAL DUMOURIER) that he owes his success to *chance*. On the contrary, we shall prove that he owes it to great *foresight* and *activity*; but above all, to his great care in employing ART AND STRATAGEM, TO WEAKEN HIS ENEMIES.

BRIBERY, CORRUPTION, and CALUMNY, are the means of doing it in *private*; and the *rifle balls* that shot the IMMORTAL NELSON, the BRAVE PRINCE of PRUSSIA, and many other officers at the battle of Jena, prove how successfully they have done it in the field, and in what manner it was done.

It is a great misfortune that there are so many *French emissaries* in this country as there are, and that they have a means, by publishing, and by intriguing privately, of misleading the country; and BONAPARTE takes care to avail himself of this. Many persons *paid* and *protected* by this government, *are in the service of France*, and the mask they put on, consists of nothing more than *cursing Bonaparte, praising England* and the *Bourbons*. This stupid, unmeaning cant, deceives those persons in this country, whose business is to watch; and who, if they did their duty, would send such men, either back to their own country, or, if they will provide for them, do it in some place where they will not have it in their power to harm England.

The successful, but simple and easily-assumed disguise of French Emissaries, reminds us of the great pasteboard nose of Sampson Carasco's squire, which prevented *Sancho* from knowing his next door neighbour.

We wish, and explicitly we express the wish, that government would watch the *emissaries* of *France* in this country; and we wish at the same time, that those patriots, who are so ready (no doubt with the best intention) to attack men who have done good service to their country, and who might do it again, to reflect on the possibility of their lending an unwilling, but effectual aid to the bitter enemy of England.

We are certain, that the bare possibility of such a thing would have some effect, but if they are determined to persist, let them do it like men, and come forward in a body, not leaving the defence of the English character, and the claims of the country in such feeble hands as those of Lord Folkestone and Mr. Lushington. The talents and patriotism of the House, must be greatly fallen off, when men, who, in former days, would have been honoured in being permitted to serve as a sort of assisting myrmydons, become now the leaders in national questions; for all questions respecting the public conduct of persons employed by government are national.

The House of Commons used to be conducted much in the same manner with the war between the Grecks and Trojans. An able leader or powerful warrior, surrounded by a band of selected myrmydons, ranged victorious in the field, spreading desolation all around, until he met with another of a a similar description, and then was the tug of war, then the battle was decided. Homer, in his inimiable description, has painted this so well, that we still see, as it were, his heroes fighting in this manner, and we see the noble Hector, unattended by his myrmydons and unarmed, attacked by the fierce and enraged Achilles, in all his force.

Such used to be the contests of our House of Commons; now we find the case altered, and men rising up leaders in political measures who, in former times, would have scarcely ventured to speak about a bill for the regulation of stage-coaches or turnpikes! —why is this but because the men of real merit and abilities in the opposition are unwilling, and ashamed but not unable, to stand foremost in the captious contest.

Of the plans of Napolicon to unnerve the government of this country, we shall be

able to gi e some strong proofs, but first, it is necessary to give the general out line, one of the main traits of which is to get his adversary weakened by private manœuvres, in order that he may be the more easily overcome.

This is not a new manœuvre and Oliver Cromwell is reported to have practised the same with success, but when virtue and fidelity of the prime minister of Spain, baffled all his skill in bribery.

On that occasion, the usurper sent for the keeper of Newgate, and asked, " If he had any felon, under his care, who excelled in picking a lock ?" The keeper recommended one of a most desperate description, capable picking any lock that could be made, and who was at that time under sentence of death.

The protector ordered the man to be brought into his closet, when he said to the condemed man, that he might have his pardon if he was resolute and obedient; if he deceived, it would be known, and that nothing could save him.

The *culprit* promised every thing, and was immediately furnished with money and orders to proced to MADRID, with a packet of papers, entrusted to a messenger who was to accompany him.

The packet was on no account to be opened until they reached the capital of Spain, which when they had done, enclosed was found a plan of the king's garden, with instructions to pick the lock of a certain gate, enter, and drop a letter, (enclosed in the packet, and addressed to the prime minister) in a summer house in the garden.

This was accordingly done, on an evening after the king and the minister had been walking in the garden, and the letter was found and carried to the person, under whose controul the palace and garden were placed, who, glad of the opportunity, delivered it to the king.

When opened, the letter was found to contain an order to bearer, on the *Bank of Venice for ten thousand pounds* sterling, with thanks to the minister for his services, signed *Oliver Cromwell.*

The KING of SPAIN was thunderstruck, and could not even then believe that his minister was false; but it was suggested, to send the order for payment to the Bank of Venice, and if paid, it was clear there was no deception, the sum was so considerable. The order was presented and paid without a question being asked. The honest and incorruptible minister of Spain soon after disappeared, and his fate is still a seeret, but the crafty Oliver succeeded in doing Spain a secret injury, proceeding on the same plan that has long been followed by Bonaparte.

By FRENCH INTRIGUE, the ARCH-DUKE CHARLES of AUSTRIA, (one of the ablest and best generals of the age), lost his credit at the court of his brother, and was dispatched to Italy, when he should have been at the Ulm, in the place of the infamous Mack, with the brave PRINCE FERDINAND. By *French intrigue*, the *peace* of *Austerlitz* was concluded, and RUSSIA obliged to retreat, when NOT AUSTRIA, NOR RUSSIA, but BONAPARTE, and his army were danger. Those who should have fought, begged for peace; and they who wanted peace, dictated the terms.

By INTRIGUE and CORRUPTION, whole regiments of Prussians were thrown into confusion at the battle of JENA, and a road opened in their army for the French to penetrate, and get into the rear. By FRENCH INTRIGUE, *General Beningsen* was removed, and by an intrigue, more singular and successful still, the *Emperor of all the Russias*, the *Prince Constantine*, and *their guards*, were *in a sort of honourable custody at Tilsit*, when that fatal treaty was signed, that has sealed the fate of the Continent of Europe.

Thus, by the force of gold, well applied, and by intrigue, does Napolean obtain his ends, more than by force of arms, or fighting in the field.

[*To be continued in our next*]

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

PREVIOUS to the legislature entering upon this investigation, we wish them to keep in mind, that *the system of the English Government, is the paramount consideration, in judging of the conduct of the Governor General.*

If that is not taken into account, we know that every person, who has had the chief power in India, since the first time that we obtained leave to build a fort, to protect our factory, and to establish a military guard, has been to blame. The whole system has been one of *aggrandizement*, and we have encroached on the Native Princes nearly in the same way that the European Settlers have done on the Indians, now confined to the back Settlements of America.

The only difference is, we have conquered the mild inhabitants of Ancient India, and that the Settlers in America expelled the native, but rude and savage Indians of the New Country, from the inheritance of their forefathers.

The governments may be both *right*, or they may be both *wrong*, at present, we shall not attempt to decide that question; but, in either case, those employed to execute their orders, are not to be considered as culpable.

As a case in point, of a very strong nature, and of a very recent date, the services and merits of *Lord Cathcart* and *Admiral Gambier*, at *Copenhagen*, were *approved* of, and *acknowledged*, by those who *disapproved*, in a very decided manner of the expedition.

It may, perhaps, be said, that the case differs in this, that the governors general of India have frequently acted without particular instructions, and sometimes in contradiction to them. To this the answer is plain. The distance renders it absolutely necessary for those who govern in India, to have a *discretional power and to act according to circumstances*, and what they think necessary for the preservation of our establishments in that country. If they acted on any other principle, unless the Directors and the Board of Controul could be furnished with the means of flying to India, on a Hypogriffe, like one of Ariosto's Heroes; or were endowed with the gift of seeing into future events, the Governor General must have that power.

It was on this plan, that *Governor Hastings* was vindicated, by a writer assuming the signature of ALBANIOUS, who first blunted, by fair arguments, the eloquence of a Burke and a Sheridan.

We have not time in this number to enter into the particulars of this question, but we shall in our next, and only now for the sake of justice and consistency, request parliament, not to impute to a *successful instrument*, what, perhaps, is owing to a wrong system adopted by the government, that it is his duty to obey, and that he has obeyed in such a manner, as to receive *both honours from the king and thanks from the parliament*

Let the thanks be rescinded and a vote of censure be passed on a grant of honours, if the principle is not adopted which we have laid down. For such ought, in that case, to be the first step towards inflicting punishment.

As to the preliminary torture of accusation, procrastinated without proof, we conceive that to be highly improper; and we know perfectly well, that if such a measure could be adopted with regard to our best commanders, and ablest ministers, it would have a most essential effect on the interests of England.

Our last article will illustrate the case, and in our next number, we shall enter further into the subject.

WE are compelled, from want of space, to defer several articles of great Importance till next week. The deductions that arise from the Tables of the PRICES *of* BREAD *and* WHEAT, *the* ORDERS *of* COUNCIL, MARQUIS WELLESLEY, CALL *for* PAPERS, &c. *will certainly appear in our next number.*

N°. 2.

Printed by W. GLINDON,
48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published by R. FIELD,
9, Newcastle-Street, Strand.

SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

COMPRISING

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS.
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN LAWS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

WE are highly pleased to find that ministers have anticipated the wishes of the public, by proposing to establish a committee for investigating the affairs of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The high respectability of the members of that committee, gives us every reason to hope that the business will be completely gone into, and produce a beneficial effect.

We know perfectly well that there is, however, always danger from such committees being led to attend more to details of little importance, than to general principles on which the business really depends.

The committee will find the company deeply in debt, its sales greatly diminished, its expences increasing, and a voluminous and true report may be made on the subject; but a remedy is the object, and that is to be found by discovering the cause; this we shall state truly, and in a way that, so far as we know, has never yet been done.

The RADICAL CAUSE of the great expenditure, and consequently of the debts of the East India Company, is the ABSURD and UNNATURAL MANNER in which its CHARTER has been granted, and the articles of which it consists.

By absurd and unnatural, we mean what is contrary to the NATURE and RIGHTS of things. It is contrary to right, to justice, and to the nature of things, that a company

should make dividends, without regard to the profit made, or the loss incurred, inasmuch as no dividend ever ought to exceed the profits for any length of time, and therefore when there are no profits, there should be no dividends, except the trade is reduced, and the dividends are taken from the original capital,

If an individual lives above his income, he must be ruined, and that is just the same thing as making dividends to a greater amount than the profits, or when there are no profits.

The India Company divides 10½ per cent. independent of profit or loss; but it is necessary to explain the meaning of 10½ per cent. in this case,

The original shares were of £1000, but they have risen to £2000, sometimes a little more and sometimes a little less, so that in reality the 10½ per cent. is 5¼. We do not wish the public to be misled, by thinking that the proprietors divide so enormous an interest upon their capital as 10½ per cent.

Having explained this in a fair, candid, and undeniable way, we shall next shew the advantage of being a proprietor of India stock.

There are about 2500 proprietors who have a right to vote, and upon the most severe contests, something under 1700 proprietors have voted on a question, so that 900, or even less, have always had the patronage of India.

No effort, either of directors or proprietors, could increase the dividend one shilling, nor could any negligence diminish this dividend, the NATURAL and NECESSARY consequence of which has been, and is, that they manage their affairs without any particular view to the general gain or loss on the concern.

Having stated this, it is necessary to say, (and we shall prove it) that the patronage, or, in other words, the appointment to offices, is worth more than £500,000 a year; from this it naturally occurs, that the proprietors and directors look to patronage and not to profits in a regular way, for their advantage.

We are told, that places are not disposed of for money, but if for favouritism, relationship, or INTEREST, or whatever term may be given to it, the same consequences arise, and we bind ourselves to prove, in our next number, that the value is above £500,000 a year.

The consequence of this is, that the company (that is, the directors and proprietors) make every effort to *increase expences* in the establishments abroad, in order that they may oblige their friends and proteges.

It is true, that bribery and selling of places are supposed to be out of the question, and we will not pretend to say, that any of the lucrative appointments are ever sold; but be that as it may, the patronage is worth more than the dividends amount to, it is worth an immense sum, and it happens unaccountably enough, if places are given away without fee, reward, interest, or any other motive than merely on account of merit, that there are sometimes very warm debates in the Court of Proprietors, about the amount of salary to be given, when those proprietors who wish for economy and a small salary, are generally in the minority.

The debate about the Governor of the Prince of Wales's Island, was carried on with great warmth, and a vast number of proprietors, and some of the directors, were for giving him a very high revenue, and were greatly offended that some others wished to be less munificent.

It may appear, as if the person intended for the place, had friends who wished to pay him largely, out of a desire to reward merit at a rate higher even than necessary; but it is so uncommon a thing for a number of tradesmen to do this, that such a fact is not easily credited.

Another mode of explaining this is, that

the rich tradesmen who form the Court of Proprietors, feel that they are sovereigns of a country, far more populous and extensive than the British islands; they feel that their servants are in the place of princes, and of the great and honourable of the earth. The Great Mogul, whose revenues, only a century ago, amounted to thirty-two millions sterling a year, (a sum at that time nearly equal to the revenues of all the sovereigns in Europe;) is to the Company no more than a whipping top to a school boy, or a cast-off mistress to a man of fashion. Feeling then, very naturally, as sovereigns of the first class; the General Court composed of merchants, old maids, soap-boilers, ship-wrights, sail-makers, and others of various descriptions, naturally wish to support their dignity in that capacity, and soar with great propriety above the prejudices of tradesmen or mechanics.

Those sovereigns of India may easily be conceived to feel themselves interested in preserving their dignity, as in so doing, they can, moreover, oblige their friends, without taking one farthing from their own pockets. Now, as there are two explanations, one very difficult to conceive, and the other very easily understood, I think we must stick to the latter, for we are bound to believe, bribery or selling offices are altogether out of the question.

Now for the consequences—We have the authority of Lord Melville, about sixteen years ago, (when he was Mr. Dundas, and president over India affairs,) for believing, that the fortunes the servants of the company remitted home annually, amounted to *one million*, and at this time it must be nearly double; at the same time that the luxury and splendour supported by those deputy sovereigns, those representatives of their imperial masters, in Leadenhall-Street, in that country, is great beyond conception. The soap-boilers, and sail-makers, and ship-chandlers, themselves, would be astonished at it, and no doubt their pride would be gratified, when they found their representatives living in such splendour. But, alas! gentlemen, here ends the splendid picture. The gold is all off the gingerbread, the moment we observe, that though the native princes of India are dethroned, and the inhabitants taxed to the amount of more than £ 15,000,000 publicly, (besides private exactions;) yet that the great sovereign company is sinking in debt, borrowing on usury, and both morally and physically in a state of corruption, decline and decay.

We all know that the native princes lived in great splendour upon the revenues they collected. We are certain that Englishmen understand better how to collect taxes, in a productive manner, than any other people; yet, in our hands, the government does not, on the whole, pay its expences.

As one proof in point of this, it may be remembered, that Tippo Saib, the sovereign of Mysore, was obliged to cede a large portion of his country to the company in 1792, and to give his two sons as a sort of pledge for the payment of a large sum of money. That prince, however, redeemed his children from captivity, amassed immense treasures, supported his rank, and was able, in about seven years, to renew hostilities. In our hands now, his country occasions debt, instead of accumulation of treasure; and similar to this is the case in every part of India.

As the charter is nearly expiring, it will be very easy to remedy this order of things; let us look the danger in the face, and seek for the proper cause where it is to be found.

The system of patronage and of dividends without regard to profit or loss, is the root of the evil, and let that root be pulled up, for the consequences to this country are terrible.

In our next and following numbers we

shall explain this, and only now observe, that our possessions in India enrich individuals, but impoverish the nation, as well as bring upon us many enemies, and many expences, from wars undertaken to preserve them, and keep other European powers away.

We hope that this subject will be viewed in that great-minded way that such an object deserves, and what is more, requires; for we shall never have peace, this country will never be safe or well while we alone are masters in India. India is to England a very dangerous possession, of that we already spoke, in the article of General Politics in our last, and it cannot be too seriously attended to by those who have the interest, the welfare, and even the safety of this country at heart.

At all events, let matters be fairly investigated, and the affairs of India put upon a plan that will not let the system of individual advantage be preferred to the general interests of the country.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

OBSERVATIONS ON Mr. ROSCOE's PAMPHLET, ENTITLED, "CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CAUSES, OBJECTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE PRESENT WAR, AND ON THE EXPEDIENCY, OR THE DANGER OF PEACE WITH FRANCE—BY WILLIAM ROSCOE, ESQ."

UNTIL we had read Mr. Roscoe's late publication on the question of peace and war, we could scarcely have conceived how a man of talents and literary merit could write so much and say so little to the purpose.

shall first give his preface, in order the rest of the work.

"The reader must not expect to find the "following pages filled with recriminations "against the French people and their ru- "ler. I leave it to the consistency of those "who have been uniformly hostile to the "cause of rational liberty, and the consti- "tutional rights of the subject in this coun- "try, to abuse the despotism of France.

"It is to my countrymen, and not to our "adversaries, that I wish to address myself; "to call upon them by every motive that "can actuate good men and good subjects, "to attend, at this momentous crisis, to their "own real interests, to dissipate those ex- "aggerated apprehensions which seem like- "ly to plunge us into the very evils which "they dread; to awaken the people to a "just sense of the importance of the great "cause of political morality; to remind "them that the faults of the government "are the faults of the people; the honour "of the nation their honour, and the dis- "grace of the nation their disgrace; and "to induce them to feel, that the conscience "of a nation is in the bosom of every ho- "nest man."

From reading this advertisement prefixed to the work, we are prepared to find something bordering on praise of the French and their leader. The caveat put in against recrimination, in the very beginning, shews the impatience of the author to set his reader right on that head; but why the same writer should seem so anxious about what he calls the great cause of political morality, it is difficult to conceive.

Does Mr. Roscoe mean to insinuate (for surely he cannot assert) that the French and their ruler are exemplary for their political morality? If Mr. Roscoe were not in a sober serious mood, we should think this a sort of persiflage, a sort of irony, but he convinces us very completely in the course of his work, that it is not at all of that nature; that he seriously admires and esteems the French, and has withdrawn his regard

from the people of his own country; for as he tells us, that the faults of the government are the faults of the people, consequently, the people are guilty of all those actions which he finds to be so highly reprehensible, since he ceased to be a member of parliament, and his friends were dismissed from the presence of their master.

We are told, in elegant and intelligible language, that the people of England were virtuous, wise, and good, till the morning of that day, that Lords Howick and Grenville, and their companions were dismissed, but that ever since they have been iniquitous and vile. So far historical fact—and it is very plainly hinted, that the only way for the guilty people of England to amend their ways, is to put his friends again in place as before; then will the people be a spotless, virtuous people; then will they feel their iniquities washed away, as if the river Jordan, had run over the country, and laved the land.

There is, however, a sort of inaccuracy in the expression of *reminding* the people, that the faults of the government are their faults, which could not have been expected from the pen of so able a writer. How does Mr. Roscoe know that the people ever did know that of which he pretends to remind them. To us it appears to be rather a piece of new information altogether; and if it were only from the circumstance of our still preserving a national spirit and character, and that we very frequently, of late, have changed our masters, we should be inclined to question his being right. We are not sufficiently enlightened to know that we are good and bad, just as we happen to change our masters. We cannot acquiesce in that cameleon-like morality, for we did not feel that we underwent any such violent changes in our ways of thinking, when the cabinet was changed.

If we credit this fanciful writer, the concurrences of all the honest men in the nation, are to be affected by a change in the cabinet, in a way similar to the brains of a madman at the full of the moon.

It is the reputation of the writer that renders this pamphlet deserving of attention; for whatever a writer of reputation maintains will pass current with a great number; it is, therefore, of importance, whenever an author of that description produces any work on a subject connected with the prosperity of the people, to examine whether it is likely to produce good or evil.

The pamphlet before us, is written a good deal on the same plan with a pamphlet, that appeared at the time that the Foxites and Grenvillites came into power, entitled "*The State of the Nation.*" That work, however, said little about the state of the nation, and a great deal about the errors and ignorance of Mr. Pitt, and those who acted with him. Our readers will remember, that about the same time, the new ministers told us, that we were ruined by the blunders of those who had preceded them; that they, in short, were on a bed of thorns, and they manifested their uneasiness, and proved the beggared state of the nation, by a constant succession of feasts and galas; and so prepossessed were they of the efficacy of such remedies, that one of the plenipotentiaries sent to Paris, was a superb turtle, escorted by a King's messenger; though the Prince of Benevento refused to see so novel a species of ambassador.

The pamphlet of Mr. Roscoe, is a political hoax; like the State of the Nation, it is nearly all employed in praising his own party, and blaming their opponents, very little of the work being dedicated to the real subject of peace or war, on which he never enters, until his pamphlet is in the wane, and has entered on its last quarter.

Mr. Roscoe, in discussing the causes of the war, supposes a very large party in

this country stimulate the government from selfish motives; and he is abundantly severe in his accusations. Some persons would say they are illiberal; others, that they are void of christian charity; and all must agree, that they are ill-natured. But, nevertheless, we are disposed, in this case, to vindicate Mr. Roscoe; for the whole accusation, with a few changes in the mode of expression,)but nothing altered in the meaning,) may be found in Tom Paine's Rights of Man, written at the time he wished all people to rebel against those who governed them.

As we dare not give the words of Tom Paine, we shall give those of Mr. Roscoe.

" That reconciliation, which was a just " cause of satisfaction to the true friends of " their country, was however regarded by " those who could sacrifice its best interests " to their own exasperated feelings and " mercenary views, with dissatisfaction " and abhorrence. Among these were " some of the adherents to the late order of " things in France, who after having found " an hospitable shelter in this island, em- " ployed themselves in exciting the public " indignation against the French people " and government. In this their object " was manifest. As they had no share ei- " ther in the dangers or the expence of the " contest, its termination was to them no " cause of rejoicing; but, what was more " to the purpose, the establishment of peace " defeated those hopes of a restoration of " that favorite system of feudal vassalage, " and that prospect of retaliation, which, " during the continuance of the war, they " had never ceased to indulge Another, " and a still more formidable party, con- " sisted of the innumerable bands of journ- " alists and hireling writers, who feed " upon the credulity and fatten upon the " calamities of a nation; men who flourish " most in the midst of tumult; to whom the " disasters of the country are as valuable " as her triumphs, a destructive battle as " a rich harvest, and a new war as a free- " hold estate. Nor was the number small " of those who having been accustomed to " derive their emoluments from the con- " tinuance of the war through the endless " ramifications of *office*, *place*, and *pension*, or " by the more lucrative means of *contracts* " *with government*, were thoroughly dissatis- " fied with the pacification, and looked " anxiously forwards towards fresh causes " of disagreement. The united efforts of " these irreconcileable enemies to the gene- " ral tranquillity were not without effect. " Their reiterated clamours appeared like " the public voice. Scarcely were the " preliminaries of the treaty concluded, " than new grounds of hostility were dis- " covered; every provocation that could " excite the dormant passions was inces- " santly called forth; and the same minis- " ters who had concluded the peace, were " loudly required to break a treaty which " they could not disavow, and *to cut the gor-* " *dian knot*. Instead of endeavouring to " heal the wounds of war, by a conciliatory " conduct towards the French people and " government, the English press continued " to pour forth against them the most un- " restrained abuse; and by these means the " combustibles were prepared for a new " explosion.

The persons arraigned, are emigrants, news writers, and contractors, placemen, and pensioners. These latter are the same whom Mr. Paine accusses in a similar way, but we cannot see with what justice, because their emoluments are not augmented by war; on the contrary, they have been diminished by it.

As to the contractors, it is certain they gain by war, and probably private interest may lead them to wish for it; and undoubtedly, they are very active in turning it to their advantage, but we still do not see any reason for accusing them of having fomented

hostilities; neither do we see how they had any thing in their power that way.

With regard to the journalists, we blame and lament with Mr. Roscoe, their offensive language to the French government; and we do blame the pacific and mild Lord Sidmouth, for not having moderated it, as well as for not having suppressed the emigrant journals, about which we shall speak hereafter. There are other methods besides the rigour of the law, by which such irritating productions might be kept in checque—agreeing perfectly with Mr. Roscoe, on the impropriety and imprudence of permitting such publications; still we cannot consider a fresh war, as to journalists a freehold estate. Neither will we allow that those irritations were the cause of the renewal of hostilities. To say so is to libel the good sense and greatness of mind of Bonaparte, whom he has told us, he would take under his special protection. It would be rather an arbitrary proceeding, and little consistent with POLITICAL MORALITY, (those words remind us of Godwin's POLITICAL JUSTICE) to put in requisition all the youth of France, from the age of 16 to 24, in order to punish Peltier and the Morning Post, for their impertinence. We cannot, therefore, think so meanly of Bonaparte, as to believe him guilty of so despotic, and at the same time so contemptible a measure.

India was the object of Bonaparte; for that it was he wanted Malta; for that he sent Sebastiani into Egypt; for that the war was renewed; and for that also the war is continued; and till that is in some way or other adjusted, peace of a durable nature, is impracticable.

It would be useless to follow Mr. Roscoe through the historical part of the causes of the war, in which he has constantly mistaken the scaffold for the pile; the alleged pretext for the real motive.

England had been over-reached in the peace of Amiens, as Russia and Austria, to whom Malta was to be delivered up, had not consented to take charge of it. The designs of Bonaparte on India which became more evident, and his continual infractions on his peaceable neighbours, were the cause on our side for the renewal of war. On that of Bonaparte, the cause was a determination to rule every where, and to suffer no contradiction.

Had Malta been given up to Russia and Austria, he could very easily have got possession of it from them, but when he found that England was aware of his intention, he had no other chance of effecting his purpose but by renewing the war.

After Mr. Roscoe attempts to make us believe, that the journalists, and contractors, and placemen, and pensioners occasioned the war, he very clearly shews that *they did no such thing*.

The English ministry not having complied with the requisition made by France, about the journals and the emigrants, Monsieur Talleyrand, he says, made no reply; "but "proceeded with great solemnity to in- "quire, '*What were his Majesty's intentions* " '*with respect on the evacuation of Malta*;' "a subject, which, for upwards of six "months, appears to have been entirely at "rest. This inquiry his lordship trans- "mitted to the British ministry, and the "answer of Lord Hawkesbury affords a "new proof of the importance attached, as "well by the government of this country, "as by that of France, to injurious language "and false aspersions. After taking a re- "view of the acquisitions made by France "since the signing of the preliminary arti- "cles of peace, and contending 'that his "'majesty would have been warranted, "'consistently with the spirit of the treaty, "'in claiming equivalents for these acqui- "sitions, *as a counterpoise to the augmentation* "'*of the power of France*,' he declares 'that "'his Majesty was willing to have waved "'the pretensions he might have a right

" ' to advance, of this nature, and have
" ' carried the treaty into effect, had not
" ' the very extraordinary publication of
" ' the report of Col. Sebastiani attracted
" ' the attention of his Majesty's govern-
" ' ment. That this report contained *the*
" ' *most unjustifiable insinuations and charges*
" ' *against the officer who commanded the British*
" ' *forces in Egypt, and against the British army*
" ' in that quarter; insinuations and char-
" ' ges wholly destitute of foundation,
" ' and such as would warrant his Majesty
" ' in demanding that satisfaction, which
" ' on occasions of this nature, independent
" ' powers, in a state of amity, have a right
" ' to expect from each other. That this,
" ' which was the report of an accredited
" ' agent, disclosed views in the highest
" ' degree injurious to the interests of his
" ' Majesty's dominions, and utterly incon-
" ' sistent with the letter and spirit of the
" ' treaty of peace.'*

" This communication immediately led
" the way to the very extraordinary in-
" terview between Lord Whitworth and
" the first consul, which will long be
" remembered as an unique proceeding in
" diplomacy. The French ruler, after la-
" menting, ' as a matter of infinite disap-
" ' pointment to him, that the treaty of
" ' Amiens, instead of being followed by
" ' conciliation and friendship, had been
" ' productive only of continual and increas-
" ' ing jealousy and mistrust,' enumerated
" the several provocations which he had
" received from England. In the first rank
" he placed ' the non-evacuation, by the
" ' British government, of Malta, and Alex-
" ' andria, as they were bound to do by
" ' treaty,' and declared, ' that no consider-
" ' ation on earth should make him acqui-
" ' esce; and that of the two he would
" ' rather see the English in possession of
" ' the *Faubourg S. Antoine* than of Malta.
" He then adverted to the abuse thrown
" out against him in the English public
" prints; but this, he said, ' he did not se
" ' much regard, as that which appeared in
" ' the French papers published in London.
" ' This he considered as much more mis-
" ' chievous, since it was meant *to incite th*
" ' *people of France against him and his government*
" ' He acknowledged that the irritation h
" ' felt against England increased daily; *be*
" ' *cause every wind which blew from Englan*
" ' *brought nothing but enmity and hatred again*
" ' *him.* France, he observed, had an arm
" ' of 480,000 men, to be immediately com
" ' pleted, and all ready for the most de
" ' perate enterprizes. England had a fle
" ' that made her mistress of the seas, a
" ' which he did not think he should be ab
" ' to equal in less than ten years. Two su
" ' countries, by a proper understandin
" ' might govern the whole world; but t
" ' their strifes might overturn it. He sai
" ' that if he had not felt the emnity of t
" ' British government on every occasi
" ' since the treaty of Amiens, there wou
" ' have been nothing that he would not ha
" ' done to prove his desire to conciliat
" ' *participation in indemnities* as well as in inf
" ' ence on the Continent; *treaties of comme*
" ' in short, any thing that could have giv
" ' satisfaction and testified his friendsh
" ' Nothing, however, had been able
" ' conquer the hatred of the British gove
" ' ment; and therefore it was now com
" ' the point, whether we were to h
" ' peace or war. To preserve peace,
" ' *treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled*; the ab
" ' in the public prints, if not totally
" ' pressed, at least kept within bounds,
" ' confined to the English papers; and
" ' protection so openly given to his bitte
" ' enemies (Georges and others) must
" ' withdrawn. If war; it was neces
" ' only to say so, and to refuse to fulfi

" * Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whit-
" worh, Feb. 9th, 1803.

" ' treaty.' To these and many other obser-
" vations of the first consul, Lord Whit-
" worth very justly replied, that, ' after a
" ' war of such long duration, so full of
" ' rancour, and carried on in a manner
" ' of which history had no example, it
" ' was but natural that a considerable de-
" ' gree of agitation should still prevail;
" ' but that this, like a swell after a storm,
" ' would gradually subside, if not kept up
" ' by the policy of either party. That
" ' he would not pretend to pronounce
" ' which had been the aggressor in the
" ' paper war, and which was still kept
" ' up, though with this difference, that
" ' in England it was independent of the
" ' government, and in France its very act
" ' and deed.'

" From this interview it sufficiently ap-
" pears, that whatever might be the subject
" of discussion, one principal cause of dif-
" ference and of exasperation, was the abu-
" sive publications on each side the water,
" upon the priority of which Lord Whit-
" worth did not think it expedient to pro-
" nounce."

How Mr. Roscoe can say, after the conversation given, that one *principal cause* of difference and exasperation was the abusive publications on each side of the water it is impossible to conjecture, when Bonaparte said he would rather see the English in possession of part of Paris than of Malta, and that the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled.

If this is not a clear proof that Malta and the non-fulfilment of the treaty of Amiens, were the causes of the war, what does it mean?

We do not think this point now of much importance to discuss, but we think it proper to shew how Mr. Roscoe reasons, and what conclusions he draws, in order that those who are inclined to give him implicit credit, may be induced to examine a little before they pin their faith to the skirt of his garment.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

London, 16*th March*, 1808.

SIR,

'ABOUT two years ago I got the enclosed prospectus printed, but sickness prevented my applying to the humanity of the public on the business; and now that I see a paper begun, on a plan that patronizes whatever is done with good intention for the benefit of mankind, I beg your insertion, as a preliminary step to my making it generally known.

' I have no interested motives in it, for the management would naturally devolve on persons of rank and importance, and it would be regulated without fee or emolument; but I shall be at the first expence of printing, and applying to some one of the royal family to patronize so good a thing.

The plan has been shewn to numbers of respectable persons of both sexes, and has been applauded with enthusiasm; and, though there are persons who from depravity of nature, or from temptation, go willingly astray, yet this will prevent a very numerous class from destruction, who now go astray from *necessity*.

Your obedient servant,

W. P.

With the above letter came the following paper, printed by Mr. Glendening, Hatton-Garden, and signed by the gentleman whose initials we now give; but so unexceptionable does the plan appear to us, that we have the greatest pleasure in inserting it, and if established, we request to be the first subscribers for five guineas. Now that the town is full of company, we advise him to begin, and he will stand high amongst those who have benefitted the human race. To be generous in giving is not sufficient, more depends on the way in which it is done, and we freely do confess, this plan seems one of the best we ever heard of, both from the good it may do, and the smallness of the expence.

ASYLUM FOR FEMALE SERVANTS, FOR THE PRESERVATION OF VIRTUE.

" As to prevent misfortune is generally more easy, and always better, than to remedy it, there can be little doubt, that in a country where the charitable disposition of the wealthy is great beyond example, the INSTITUTION now announced and recommended will meet with patronage and support.

" FEMALE SERVANTS, a very numerous, and by no means unimportant, class of society, are, in London, exposed to *unexampled hardships* and *dangers*, and almost to *certain ruin*, by the circumstance, that when they quit a place of service, they have no means of obtaining lodgings at a reasonable rate, or amongst respectable people. To associate with the vicious, and to run in debt, are almost inevitable *; so that pressed on the one hand by want, encouraged by bad example, and stimulated by bad counsel, the unfortunate female yields to necessity, and is undone.

" The operation of this cause is rapid in its progress and of vast extent, and gives rise to a regular course of corruption with females of this description, whose ruin is almost unavoidable †. By this, not only the unfortunate individuals are deprived of virtue and cut off from happiness, but the public at large suffers by finding it difficult to procure good and honest servants.

" Let him who can, describe, in pathetic strains, the misery of the deserted female, betrayed by the deceit of man, cut off from the world and from hope, and left to perish on a bed of straw! Let him awaken in the bosoms of the humane, sentiments of pity, that are honourable to those who feel, but useless to those who suffer; be still but paints solitary and rare examples of misery, compared with those that are produced by a much shorter operation in this immense metropolis. Individual instances of such misfortunes are the necessary consequences of the imperfection of human nature, arising from the weakness of one and the wickedness of another. Let our task be different; let it be to turn the attention of the public to an evil that is immense in its extent, arising NOT from the immutable laws of nature, NOT from the imperfection entailed on the human race, *but from the bad arrangement of society*, and therefore capable of a remedy.

" We do not wish to make tears flow that are HONOURABLE to the heart but USELESS to the object; we do not wish to excite unavailing pity, but to procure for the affluent, the supreme felicity of saving a great number of their fellow creatures from destruction, and to procure for those their fellow creatures, the means of preserving their innocence, of which means they are at present deprived, by a combination of circumstances, that are disgraceful amongst a virtuous and enlightened people.

" * It is only in certain parts of the town that *single women* can get lodgings at the price of 2s. 6d. or 3s. a week, generally with some *gin drinker*, who perhaps only gives her half a bed. The ready money is soon gone; the clothes are pledged, and if the unfortunate woman does not procure service before that is done, loss of virtue and total ruin ensue. The real expence of lodging a single woman, will be but 8d. a week in London, if proper measures are taken, but at present dear lodgings with bad company cost 10 or 12 shillings a week, at least, so long as the servant's money lasts.

" † Young persons arriving from the country, are no less liable to dangers than servants out of place, though those dangers are not precisely of the same sort. The proposed Institution will remove them also,

"Fortunately our task will be easy.—The evil is real and great, the existence is generally known, and the remedy is far from difficult *.

"A meeting of the protectors of female virtue will be called by advertisement, when the particulars of the plan, and calculations on which it is founded, will be submitted to them. It will then appear, that without ostentation or shew, or any very great expence, more evil may be *prevented* in one year than could be remedied in a life time."

PRICE OF BREAD AND OTHER PROVISIONS.

We were just about resuming our calculations, and drawing the result to lay before the public, when we received a letter, signed "An Old Baker," full of very interesting matter, confirming all that we have said, and farther explaining some circumstances of which we before were ignorant, but which would confirm our opinion, if confirmation were wanted, where the demonstration is positive.

As, however, the old baker's information will be effectual in strengthening public opinion, we have thought it best to let that subject remain till next week, that we may avail ourselves of what his letter contains, when we shall certainly resume the subject.

ORDERS OF COUNCIL.

It is a circumstance, certainly to be lamented, that both in the moral and physical world, remedies for disorders are generally nauseous and disagreeable.

Amongst the medicines for preserving or restoring human health, there are few that are not offensive either to the taste or the smell, and many of them are so to both.

Children who cannot balance the advantage of health against a disagreeable draught, resist such medicines, but to those adults who know the benefit, the taste and smell are objects of no consideration.

The orders in council, taken in themselves, are certainly highly disagreeable and inconvenient, and if the advantages are denied, it is as easy to harangue upon their dangers, as to descant on the disagreeable odour of *asa-foida*.

To consider this subject, we must look at the ultimate, not at the immediate effects of the orders in council, and find whether they are likely to produce the change in continental politics that was intended.

So much has been said with regard to particular regulations, and so little conclusion drawn, that we think the better and more satisfactory way will be, to view the subject in its great and general outline, taking into account the effect already produced, so far as it is yet known.

The intention is to retaliate on Bonaparte for his shutting the ports of the Continent against England, by shutting those ports against all the world, and this cannot be done by blockading each port individually, but by a general maritime and temporary police or regulation, to effect which is the business of the orders of council.

That they have done so is evident from the conduct of Bonaparte, who, that he may not appear coerced, and that England may not derive any gain, has excluded all colonial produce by an express decree, thereby putting a total end, as far as he is able, to general navigation.

This is not a voluntary, but a forced measure on the part of Bonaparte, and the con-

* A calculation of the expence will be given with the prospectus.

sequence is, that the people on the Continent are deprived of many of these things, necessary to the enjoyment of life—coffee, sugar, drugs, dying materials, and many other articles, are totally excluded; and the state of coercion in which the people are kept, is highly painful. Add to this, that Russia, and other countries, are unable to dispose of their superfluous produce, and thereby the finances, both of individuals and of the state, miserably deranged.

Such are the effects of the orders of council on our enemies. That we feel some inconvenience ourselves, is not to be denied; but that is not the question—the question is, whether the inconvenience produced to the nations on the Continent, is not likely to bring on a peace on proper terms, or to put an end to that submission to France, that converts the whole of the Continent into an engine of war, wielded by Bonaparte against this nation?

There can be no doubt that the state of the Continent is one that cannot continue, and even the enemies of the orders of council must allow that, but they have argued in a very silly manner, for they have dwelt merely on the immediate inconvenience to ourselves, which nobody doubts, and no one will deny.

Taken fairly, the discussions shew that there are no serious objections; and the intelligence received from the Continent, and from all parts of the Continent, shews that they produce very evident effects, of a nature to give great hope, and such as were aimed at producing by the measure, they therefore deserve the highest approbation; and even that intricacy that has been complained of we find unavoidable—we only wish that a penalty were attached, to consuming in this country, French wines or brandies, or any article imported from France, that is not already in the kingdom—our case is serious, our enemies have brought it on, and we must find effectual means of stopping their career.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

THE ARMY.

As our business is to aid by ANTICIPATION, all such measures as are LIKELY be adopted; and to suggest such as we think OUGHT ought to be adopted; so, also, it is our duty to give our reasons against the adoption of such plans as are supposed to be in agitation, and not likely to be productive of advantage.

We know that his Royal Highness the DUKE OF YORK, ever since he has been commander in chief, has done every thing in his power to ameliorate the state of the army, and it is said a measure is now in agitation for that purpose, by suppressing all individual ARMY AGENTS, and taking the whole into the hands of government, by establishing a GENERAL AGENCY OFFICE, in the immediate hands of government.

Well intended as this may be, and specious as it appears on the first blush of the business, we are convinced that it will be attended with great embarrassment and with innumerable inconveniences.

In the present way of transacting the business, the army agents are responsible for their general conduct, but they have an opportunity and a power of granting to particular officers, and in individual cases, on their *own responsibility* and at their *own risque*, such accommodations and advances as they think safe or proper.

We must also say, that we are certain they are constantly in the habit of doing so, to the *great advantage of particular officers*, the *general benefit of the service*, and without any inconvenience to the public.

If a general office is established, all such facilities must immediately cease, and every

transaction will be incumbered and retarded by those forms and rules that are indispensable, when the public employs servants to transact buisiness in an official way.

Shakespeare makes Hamlet, (Prince of Denmark) speak of the insolence of office, as one of the *great miseries of human life*; he even ranks it equal with the *law's delay*, and a higher rank it would not be necessary to assign, to any thing that harrasses man, under the form of negociation.

But we do not go quite so far, and without speaking of the insolence of office, which is not a necessary, though a common evil, we will insist upon it, that the necessary and unavoidable delays of office, where every thing must be correct, is a very great grievance, and to be avoided as much as possible.

Where man acts with man, on his own responsibility, and at his own risque, and the mutual interests are arranged, by a discretional power in the parties, things go on with smoothness and conveniency. We can support this assertion by that high authority, of Dr. ADAM SMITH, the learned and profound author of the Wealth of Nations.

In the present way, the great number of agents who are rivals to each other, act like men in free trade, not like men who enjoy a monopoly. That is, they exert themselves to accommodate their customers, as far as they think they can do it with prudence, and farther it certainly would not be desirable that they should go.

In a general agency, there will never be either the will or the power for any sort of accommodation. It will partake of all the inconveniencies of a monopoly, without any of the advantages.

We have not time to go, in this number, at greater length into the subject, but we shall return to it; and, in the mean time, appeal to all those who understand the true principles of political economy, if what we now say is not well founded; we therefore hope that the matter will be duly weighed before it is attempted. Repeating our decided opinion, that far from being a beneficial, it will be a very inconvenient and disadvantageous measure, both to the officers of the army, and to the public.

To be continued in our next.

OF INCENDIARY WRITERS.

WE have long seen, with grief, that there are a number both of periodical writers and pamphletiers who make it their business to calumniate persons in high life, and in a particular manner the younger male branches of the royal family.

We are not unacquainted with the motives of some of those persons, neither are their modes of grounding their speculations unknown to us, and we wish to set the matter in its true light.

The same love of scandal that creates in small societies so much misery and often serious misfortune, operates, on a national scale in a different way, and those persons who are from their rank objects of public attention, are frequently seized upon as objects of accusation. It appears, that there is a great disposition to encourage such sort of calumny, from a secret pleasure that it gives to the general class of readers.

We leave to those who study the philosophy of the human mind, to inquire into the cause. It is sufficient for us to be assured of the reality of the fact.

This disposition at all times, and in all countries, sufficiently strongly implanted in the human breast, has acquired a new degree of strength and vigour since the French revolution began, supported and enforced by the assertion, that the rich oppressed the poor, and that the rulers of a country are always the nutural enemies of the people.

The overthrow of the French monarchy was chiefly effected by the propogation of such principles; and as a preliminary step to the destruction of the monarchy, the king, his family, his ministers, the judges, and all those in power were objects of calumny and abuse.

Notwithstanding the fatal consequences of this, and the unexpected and unwelcome termination of the affair, there are still, in this country, persons who follow the very tract of the writers who ruined France, and by way of establishing liberty have plunged it into a degree of despotism of which history gives no example.

There have of late appeared a variety of publications against some of the younger branches of the royal family; and by the very appearance, and the impunity with which the writers are allowed to proceed, they are calculated to inspire an opinion, that they are founded on truth; but those who think so, do not know the real circumstances.

The writers of those pamphlets, have not abilities sufficient to procure themselves bread, unless they write in this manner, just as the Billingsgate fishwoman, can only obtain attention by oaths, vociferation, and obscenity.

There is amongst them, ONE, who calculates thus, and his calculation may stand good for the whole fraternity; it is as follows—

If I write on any ordinary subject, my talents will not procure me bread.—If I attack any of the Royal Family, I shall get money; and, though I have little to say, yet, by means of a good striking title, large print, wide lines, and large margins, I may make a book that will sell for a good price. If I am not noticed, it is well. If I am prosecuted, it will be better still; and, if I am sent to prison, it will be best of all.

We are serious, and COULD NAME this calculator. We will name him if it should be necessary; and we know that there are more than one, that, though they may not have the hardiness to avow the truth, act upon the same principles, and follow a similar plan.

So much then for the authors, now for their works.

Not one amongst them all (though setting prosecution at defiance,) has been able to do any thing more than to vamp up a sort of general indefinite charges, made indeed with effrontery, and accompanied with innuendoes of the vilest sort, which, far from being a proof of any great degree of guilt, is a proof that there is nothing very serious to bring forward.

We do not mean to write a panegyric on any one. That is not the business of this work, and it is not necessary in the present case, but we mean forthwith to take a review of the different publications to which we allude, as their general effect is to create discontent amongst the people, and by that means weaken their attachment to the present order of things, which is, in fact, the only barrier between them, and becoming the slaves of Bonaparte.

Britain has long resisted, and not unfrequently been victorious in contests, with continental nations, but the case is now altered. The Continent was then divided; it is now in one mass, and, therefore, our danger is increased. We may then address our country in the words of Andromache, to the brave defenders of Troy.

" *Singly, the Grecian heroes strove in vain;*
" *Now hosts oppose thee, and thou must be slain.*"

Unless we are contented, we cannot be unanimous, nor vigorous; and unless we are unanimous and vigorous, we cannot resist the united world in arms. Let us, then, expose those incendiaries, who would seminate discontent, in whatever garb they dress their dangerous productions.

If the law is a dead letter with regard to them; or, if they brave the law, let it be our task to shew, that the productions ought not to escape contempt.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

To the EDITOR of ANTICIPATION.

Sir,

As I was, the other day, passing through Drury-Lane, a female, who sold fruit at the corner of a passage, exclaimed to her companion with great energy, "Me! "a QUEEN! I would be no queen, nor no "PRINCESS, no, not I. Don't gammon me "with your queens and princesses."

I had not heard the beginning of this conversation, but was curious to know what it was. The girl was apparently under thirty, and had a face rather interesting, though her voice was masculine and her attire none of the best.

Afraid to offend so energetive a female by an impertinent question, I began by purchasing a little fruit. All then was placid and tranquil, when I, with a smile, said, "And so, my pretty lass, you would not "be a queen, nor a princess? Pray tell me "the reason? Was you in jest?"

"You seem to be a good-natured gentle-"man, so I shall tell you true.

"If I was a queen, I could neither take "a glass of gin nor smoke a pipe, nor "could I please my fancy and do as I like "with what I have, which is better than "all the rest."

I was so struck with the good sense, the justice of the thought, and the free and frank air with which it was spoken, that though I was sorry that gin and tobacco made part of her more than princely enjoyments, I was irresistibly tempted to buy a few of her best apples, for which I threw down half-a-crown, and hurried off to enjoy my own reflections.

I live at Old Brompton, but so much occupied was I with the train of thinking, which this incident produced, that about two hours afterwards I found myself at Little Chelsea, having forgot to turn to the right, at the Bell and Horns, where the roads separate.

What room, said I, to myself, arises to the lower, and even the middling classes, from considering, that they may with freedom, without criticism, or lookers on, gratify their propensities. The higher orders have more means, but they have less opportunity, even when those propensities are innocent; and if we proceed to kings and princes, they are positively slaves, and are objects of pity and compassion, in place of exciting envy. They never are in company with their equals, which is one great pleasure; and as to their amusements they are compelled, by a sense of rank and decorum, to select such as will not subject them to censure or animadversion, as they can do nothing in secret, and are always liable to observation.

From this, I was led to reflect, that not only the mode of passing the time, but the propensity of the moment is seldom gratified by people of rank, and seldom left ungratified by people in a lower situation.

When Tom Paine, and the democratic writers, about 18 years ago, attempted to persuade the poor, that the rich alone enjoyed the world, how far inferior were they, either in point of truth or common sense, to the girl who kept the apple-stall in Drury-lane!

Not to claim absolutely the privilege of getting drunk with gin, or stupid with tobacco, it is to be allowed, that the freedom enjoyed by the lower ranks, is, when contrasted with the restraint imposed upon their superiors, a compensation for many other circumstances, where the disadvantage is more striking, but less real.

Amongst the whole of society, people in

the case is altered, for our patriots make a great noise about pensions, and wish to restore the Catholic religion. The question is, whether the men of this day are wiser than their ancestors or not?

There is no doubt, that it is hard and vexatious, that money should be given to the idle, useless, or profligate; and whether much or little, if improperly given, it is a ground for a complaint; but though it is an evil it ought not to magnified. We ought not to attribute to this the weight of our taxes, when if all the pensions and places under the crown were abolished, the money saved would not pay for the expenditure of one week. It is not that we mean to speak of pensions not being an evil, but that the extent of the evil has been greatly exaggerated.

RECRUITING THE ARMY——IMPROVING WASTE LANDS, AND INCREASING THE STRENGTH AND POPULATION OF THE KINGDOM.

In our next, we shall give a full account of an admirable plan that has been proposed for rewarding soldiers at the end of a certain number of years, by giving to each, a certain number of acres, together with a sum of money, to enable them to cultivate it.

Before we enter on the particulars of the plan, we shall give a general view of the advantages to be expected from the new mode proposed for recruiting the army.—The advantages, however, will be double, in case of our commerce falling off, as national industry, and capital, will be thereby employed.

The advantages proposed and expected are so extensive, that, for the sake of being clear and distinct, it is thought best to state them separately, under the following heads:

1. Advantages as a military measure only.
2. Advantage in point of finance.
3. Advantage in agriculture, population, and national strength.
4. Advantages with respect to parish taxes and the expence of the poor.
5. Increase of revenue in course of time.
6. General amelioration in point of national hopes and national character, and the effects on our enemies.

It may be thought, at first sight, rather too extensive a view to take of any one measure whatever, to look for amelioration in six separate ways, but it will not be found to be the case, as the plan proceeds on the broad basis of encouraging such establishments as compose the only true and permanent supports of wealth, power, and prosperity, in any nation. After having gone through those heads, we shall view the objections and difficulties.

1*st. Advantage as a military measure only.*

By augmenting the class of men from amongst whom soldiers are to be obtained, the army most certainly may be increased for (the usual mode of recruiting going on) it will not prevent any one, who prefers present money (for the purpose of drinking and debauchery) from entering, while it will be an inducement, and a very great one, to the solid, sober man, who looks forward to a distant day for future independence.—Augmentation of the army is then to be expected, and as the reward will come after instead of before the service, desertion will not take place amongst men who have enlisted on this principle.

The spirit of the army will be in a considerable degree improved; not indeed in courage, for that is not wanted; perhaps, it is impossible; but the soldiers will be more attached to their country, and more careful of themselves, when they have a happy prospect before them. The connection be-

tween happy prospects and virtuous conduct, is very close. Whereas, when there is no foundation for hope, carelessness of one's person and conduct is a very common consequence; and, however well this country acts, with regard to pensions to soldiers, it is beyond its power to grant them any thing more than bare subsistence.—— Though dispair may be prevented, the prospect cannot be called happy, or chearing in any degree.

Mr. Wyndham, probably, had the French army previous to the revolution in view, when he drew up his plan, but probably did not know the following facts.

The trial of limited service, had only existed from the end of the seven years war till the revolution, a period of about twenty-six years, and except a small help given to the Americans, the army of France, was subject only to the usual waste in time of peace during that period, yet high pay (increasing with the duration of the service) marks, or titles of honor, and all inducements were tried without much effect. —The best soldiers did not renew their engagements, and it was known, at the office of the war-minister (Bureau de la Guere,) that the army could not be kept up in the time of war, on a plan that could not keep it at its complement in time of peace.

This fact was unknown to Mr Windham, but it ought to be well attended, great would have been the advantage if Mr. Windham's plan had never been adopted, but as that has been, and is dangerous in so far that it probably will be found impossible to keep up the army, allowing men to quit in seven years, besides it will be at all events extremely expensive. At the same time those dangerous boons once held out to the soldier cannot be withdrawn. The land plan, so far as it operates, substitutes fifteen years for seven, and saves money instead of increasing expence—increase in numbers, a diminution of desertion and a better spirit are the advantages to be expected in a military view.

2d. Advantage in point of finance.

A saving of nearly of £10 a man on all raised this way, recruiting and desertion both being averaged as they now are, and as they will be then. For fifteen years there will be no expence on the men raised in this manner.

At the end of seven years, the Chelsea pensioners will be augmented, so that the whole may be stated thus;

Recruiting service and desertion	250,000
Out-pensioners of Chelsea, now	450,000
Out-pensioners by Mr. Windham's bill increased.....	400,000
Sixpence per week increased pay	180,000
	£ 1,280,000

This divided by about 130,000 makes above £9 10s. a man per annum. Now the expence on this new way, will not amount to more than £1 10s. per annum, which will make a saving of £7 on each soldier raised in this way; were they all raised so in future, it would make a million a year saving. but whatever proportion is thus raised, the same will be the proportional saving in point of finance. It then is a great advantage.

3d.—*Advantage on Agriculture, Population, and National Strength.*

As there are about 18 millions of acres fit for cultivation, now waste, and scarcely worth 1d. a year, in commonalty *(see Agriculture Reports)* or 2s. 6d. in fee simple, that might be improved, some to be worth 30s. a year, an acre rent, or 45*l.* fee simple, and the whole, prebably, onan average to 10½; this would, in time, make an increased value of 9,000,000 in rental, or about 27,000,000, in produce, and nearly 250 millions value, fee simple, instead of 2,250,000.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

GOOD EFFECTS OF ANTICIPATION

THOUGH it is yet but a few days since our article respecting the Marquis of Wellesley appeared, yet it has produced an effect, for the House of Commons very properly decided in favor of that nobleman, on the very principle we laid down; namely, that he had used a necessary discretional power, to the best of his judgment, for the advantage of the company.

It was evident enough, from the whole of the debate, that it was impossible to defend the conduct of the company to the princes of India, but that had nothing to do with the conduct of the governor, who was not to act for himself but for the company.

We anticipate equal advantage on other occasions, from our taking a distinct and clear view of subjects unconnected with party views, and unembarrassed with a number of intricate details, that prevent people from arriving at a fair conclusion, instead of aiding them in doing so. In our next, we shall consider the affairs of the West India merchants in this sort of way.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received the letter of "*an emigrant*," with many private anecdotes of Lewis XVIII. and his brothers. If he really is a Frenchman, we despise him the more, for wishing to give any degree of pain to the princes of the House of Bourbon. With regard to us, he is totally mistaken. We respect the princes, both from their rank, character, and misfortunes, and only adverted to them in the way that public good renders necessary. We shall in our next follow up the subject, but we do not expect princes to be more perfect than other men, and we are well convinced, that if an average of the rectitude of mankind could be taken, (as an exciseman measures the contents of a cask), we should find that men of high rank are, if not from principle, at least from a a sense of decorum and propriety, more correct and less censurable, than the most part of their inferiors.

The letter of X. Y. relative to the pension of Lord Lake, is not fit for our publication. The business is past—Our object is, to "TAKE TIME BY THE FORELOCK." But if that were not the case, when there are so many objects of importance to discuss, we should not have occupied a full page to censure a pension to a brave officer, who has lost his father and his fortune, and inherits a title, but not an estate. X. Y. never, perhaps, read the epitaph on the unfortunate Theodore, King of Corsica, who was long in London, in a prison for debt.

Fate heap'd her lessons heavy on his head,
Gave him a kingdom, but refus'd him bread.

This is the best vindication of Lord Lake's pension.

The letter, signed *Howard*, about imprisonment for debt, and Lord *Moira*'s bill merits insertion, but as the bill is thrown out, it will be in sufficient time in our next, when in addition to what he says, we shall shew how Lord Moira's bill might have been rendered unexceptionable. We are sorry to say, that the number of peers present, at the discussion of a matter that claims attention on the score of humanity, was so small. Fifteen lords only to determine on a case that concerns so many thousands of the sons of affliction!! It puts us in mind of Shenstone.

"*But pow'r and wealth's unvarying cheek was dry.*"

Our readers all know that peers of the realm cannot be confined for debt, but their honour is the more concerned, in shewing that they feel for those who may.

Printed by W Gilndon, Rupert-street, Haymarket—and published by R Field, 9, Newcastle-street, Strand.

N°. 3

Printed by W. GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published by R. FIELD, 9, Newcastle-Street, Strand.

SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

COMPRISING

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS.
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN LAWS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

Mr. ROSCOE's EXPLANATION OF HIS PAMPHLET.

SINCE we began the review of Mr. Roscoe's pamphlet, that gentleman has explained the true meaning and intent of his work, by heading a large party in the town of Liverpool, who have petitioned for peace.

Thus Mr. Roscoe treats the public with great respect, and his sovereign in a very different manner. In his pamphlet, he *enquires*, examines, and does not pretend to dictate. He does not even venture to do more than throw out a sort of insinuation that we ought to seek peace; but by heading, in a factious manner, (in opposition to a great portion of the town of Liverpool,) a number of inhabitants who loudly call for peace, he does more than insinuate—he does his utmost to force a peace; this too at a moment when it has been given as an opinion, by gentlemen of high rank, who wish for peace, that such petitions are not the way to obtain it—that they tend to increase the pretensions of the enemy.

What was enigmatical in the pamphlet is now explained by the author, so we shall with still more confidence proceed.

REVIEW OF MR. ROSCOE's PAMPHLET.—*Continued from Page 29.*

IF *peace* had been the object of the British minister, or *security*, or *aggrandisement*, here

was the moment for obtaining them (see page 23.) Now it would be well if Mr. ROSCOE, instead of assertion, would come to proof, for even the authority of the historian of LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT, and of LEO THE TENTH, is not sufficient to produce conviction. As to *peace*, merely as peace, no doubt we might have had that, but security or durability were by no means evidently obtainable, on the contrary, we must cede Malta without placing it in safe hands, and we must acquiesce in all his infractions made, or to make on neighbouring nations, as the Emperor or Russia did by ANTICIPATION at the TREATY of TILSIT.

As to aggrandizement, Mr. Roscoe goes beyond what is necessary there. We had no right to wish for, or seek aggrandizement, which was an illegitimate object, if we did aim at it; but this conveys a very sly insinuation; as we must understand by it, that if we wanted what was reasonable and just we might have had it, and as we possibly might want more than what was reasonable and just, we might have had that too, so condescending was the humble and pacific Bonaparte. But, no; war was our object, to obtain which we sacrificed every other advantage.

The emperor Napoleon is represented as having tempted Lord Whitworth with extension of territory, increased maritime resources, extended commerce, and a preservation of our influence on the Continent. The reader here is requested not to let his anger be kindled too fiercely against Mr. Roscoe, for insulting him, by trying to make him believe, what Bonaparte by all his speeches, and by his conduct contradicts. Never did an impudent mountebank make a bolder assertion to a gaping and ignorant crowd than this, for Bonaparte disclaims our interference in continental politics; complains that we are the tyrants of the seas, and monopolize commerce, and in that very conference insisted that we must give up Malta. Under some circumstances, we might give more credit to Mr. Roscoe than to Bonaparte, but in this case, where he is interpreting for his admired hero, and the interpretation is not admitted by the hero himself, and is contradicted by all his actions, we cannot strain our credulity so far as to give the credit to Mr. Roscoe.

There are so many contradictions in the pamphlet under review, that though it is not difficult, it is troublesome to notice them all.

An expression in the French *exposé* (laid before the legislative body,) that England alone could not contend with France, he tells us in page 24, "Inflamed the resent-
" ment of the British nation to the highest
" pitch, and the man who would have dared
" to have treated the expression with the
" contempt it deserved, would have been
" deemed a traitor to his country."

This terrible inflammation either escaped notice at the time, or has now escaped our memory, but we have a faint remembrance of its exciting something like contempt towards the bravado, and confirming our confidence in ourselves As for what is said about a man who treated it with contempt, being deemed a traitor, we do not know whether absurdity is not the most proper title for so unfounded an assertion.

In the next page (25) we are gravely told, " That it was evidently intended from the
" time it was pronounced to influence the
" negociation." Thus then the pacific Bonaparte, who, in page 23, flatters us to obtain peace, is made, in page 25, to goad us on to war, by an insolent threat. If this contradiction requires a commentary, we know nothing of argument farther than to observe, that Mr. Roscoe, by completely contradicting himself, saves us the trouble of examining the weight of either of his assertions.

With regard to the history of the events

that succeeded the recommencement of hostilities, it is not to be sought for in so suspicious a record as a party pamphlet, which says, "That Mr. Pitt's being again "called to the direction of the British "cabinet, was the signal for new disasters."

Mr. Roscoe, by way of interlude, seizes on the battle of Austerlitz, as an opportunity of entering upon the character of Mr. Pitt; a task he is very well calculated to perform, could he have divested himself of the prejudices of party, but that sticks to this literary champion, like the shirt of Nessus to the body of Hercules. The partial account of Mr. Pitt, is a mere philippic against that great man, in which some severe accusations of his political conduct are prefaced by some well turned compliments to his abilities.

The old, general, and hackneyed abuse on Mr. Pitt, for having abandoned parliamentary reform when he came into place, forms the ground work of accusation; but the adherents of Mr. Fox had equal complaints to make against him, when he came into office for the last time; and if Mr. Fox equalled Mr. Pitt in error, he fell far short in materials for an apology.

When Mr. Pitt was first placed at the helm, he had full occupation in arranging the finances for several years. In that he succeeded beyond expectation, and in defiance of the predictions of his opponents, as well as of all their efforts to counteract his operations.

Scarcely had matters been fully arranged in the finances, when a treaty of commerce with France, (a favorite measure with the nation) took up his time and attention. The aggandizements of Russia, the troubles in Holland and the Austrian Netherlands, the affairs of Nootka Sound, and the regency, afforded constant occupation till the breaking out of the French revolution, to which Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding Mr. Roscoe's assertion, shewed himself to be no enemy, while it preserved, to appearance, a rational effort to establish liberty.

"A cultivated mind and a humane disposition will render their possessor truly "polite; sound principles and a real love "of mankind, truly patriotic; but without "these, neither the politeness nor the "patriotism are any thing more than a "whited sepulchre. The system was, "however, successful; the young orator "began his career in a manner the best calculated to display his powers. As he "spoke, the hopes of freedom revived; "corruption shrunk before his glance, and "the nation hailed him as her deliverer; "but no sooner was the prize within his "grasp, than he seized it with an eagerness, and retained it with a tenacity, "which all the efforts of his opponents "could neither impede nor relax. Having "thus obtained the supreme power, the "talents which had acquired it, were employed with equal success to preserve it. "The correction of abuses, the removal of "peculation and corruption, the reform of "the representation, the extension of religious and civil liberty, were now no "longer the objects in view: or were only "recalled at stated periods, to shew with "what dexterity the minister could blast "his promise without breaking his faith. "Well schooled in all the routine and arcana of office, an adept in the science of "finance and taxation, Mr. Pitt's great "accomplishment was a thorough knowledge of the artificial and complex machine of government, and his great defect, a total insensibility to the feelings "of mankind, and a thorough ignorance "of the leading principles of human nature. "Unfortunately for his fame and for his "country, new situations arose, to which "the hackneyed rules of a narrow policy "were totally inapplicable. A powerful "nation, whose slavery had for ages been "its reproach, threw off its shackles, and

" attempted to form for itself a limited " monarchy. It was Mr. Pitt's first mis- " fortune to be insensible to the grandeur " of so glorious a struggle: his second, to " miscalculate its consequences. The first " act of France was to hold out her eman- " cipated hands to the free states of Eng- " land and of America; but the coldness " of the minister soon convinced her, that " in this government, she was not to expect " a friend. That coldness soon degenerated " into enmity and abhorrence, and through " every change of circumstance and situa- " tion, through all the evolutions and " forms of her government, whether mo- " narchical, republican, aristocratical, or " despotic, she found in him a decided and " an inflexible enemy. With what success " his hostility has been attended, impartial " history will shew."

The reader will observe some strange contradiction in this extract. A cultivated mind and humane disposition are given to Mr. Pitt in page 35, and in the following we find his great defect stated to be a total insensibility to the feelings of mankind.

With regard to facts, even so late as the spring of 1792, after the treaty of Pilnitz had been entered into by Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, with the best wishes and promises of Russia, England put her army and navy on the lowest peace establishment.

In this there was no coldness, no enmity, no abhorrence to France; and so well were the continental confederates persuaded of this, that the King of Sweden particularly stipulated that his forces must proceed by land, as it was very possible England would not allow them to be conveyed by sea.

Here is more than a proof of neutrality, it is nearly a proof of enmity to the coalition, and a wish on the part of the British government to prevent the continental powers, as far as was practicable, from interfering in the internal affairs of France. It is not to be believed that Sweden was intirely ignorant of the way of feeling of the British cabinet, and therefore, though Mr. Pitt did not admire the glorious fabric of the French constitution of 89, in the manner that Mr. Fox did, Mr. Roscoe should have some indulgence for him as a man not quite of so warm a disposition as his friend, less hasty in his attachments, and more reserved in his approbation.

As Mr. Roscoe has given an exparte detail of the events of the last eighteen years, he cannot be supposed to be ignorant of many circumstances which he no doubt thought it his duty to his friends to suppress, and therefore he must know, that whilst so great an experiment in favour of universal suffrage and unrestrained liberty was going on in France, it was but prudent to wait the event in Epgland. Not only had that experiment failed in the most complete manner, but the nation that had made it condemned its own work in the most unequivocal manner, and proclaimed a general principle of insurrection to all nations, before Mr. Pitt interfered in the smallest degree; and even then the interference was postponed till the French had committed an open act of hostility on our allies the Dutch.

The success, or want of success, is not to be attributed to Mr. Pitt, for no man could foresee the event of a revolution, that is in every respect with example. Who can lay his hand on his heart this day, and say, that he is convinced matters would have been better if England had not interfered.

It is to be remembered, that Mr. Fox's glorious battle of Iemappe took place when England was completely neutral; and on that memorable day the French first displayed that courage and energy which Mr. Roscoe generally attributes to the conduct of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Roscoe has given a good political lesson to his associates, and he ought to take a leaf out of his own book. In

page 39, he says, " The principle which " carried that nation through all her difficul- " ties, was the determination of the people " to rally round the existing government, " *whatever that government might be*, and to " join in repelling, with one hand, and " one voice, the common enemy. To this " they have sacrificed their ease, their " property, their friends, their families, " their lives, with a prodigality which " excites at the same instant admiration " and horror. But in this they have, as " a nation, found their safety. By this " they have prevented the still more dread- " ful consequences that must have resulted " from a civil war; in which one half of " the nation might have been arrayed in " arms against the other, and the con- " tending parties might have exposed a " depopulated and bleeding country to be " the prey of the first invader. By this " they have disappointed the hopes of those " who presumptuously partitioned out the " provinces of France, like the kingdom " of Poland, and who foresaw no difficul- " ties which might occur in dividing the " spoil."

If the opposition, consisting of Mr. Roscoe and his friends, believe this; and if they are attached to their country, they ought to resist the man who has enregistered Stow and Chartsworth, and all the finest estates in England, in their doomsday-book, as rewards for the French generals that may conquer the kingdom.

This pamphlet reminds us of the French constitution, so admired by Mr. Fox, one article of which was, that the constitution might be *lawfully* and *constitutionally* destroyed at any one moment. This one article destroying the whole code of which it made a part; and Mr. Roscoe's work, written with a view to counteract the existing government, contains the foregoing article, that, in like manner, condemns the whole work, written as it is to oppose the existing government.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

We are sorry that the motion in favour of the brave officers of the British army was brought into the House by Sir Francis Burdett, whose views of things are in general so wild, and whose notions are so exaggerated, that his support injures a cause in the minds of moderate men.

The man who said THAT ENGLAND WAS NOT WORTH DEFENDING, cannot be expected to meet with great attention when he interferes in favour of her DEFENDERS.

Another evil is, that the baronet is not possessed of sufficient ability to do a subject of this sort justice; his arguments are neither profound nor ingenious, but violent, and urged without moderation.

In the present case we are clearly disposed to approve of the tendency of the motion, that officers should not be suspended without undergoing trial by a court-martial.

Mr. WINDHAM had a noble opportunity of exerting his argumentative powers, in contradiction to those who opposed the measure, on the absurd ground *that it was diminishing the power of the sovereign, and making the army judge in its own cause*; but he said nothing. Had it been a question about a *bull-baiting*, or a *boxing-match*, he would have occupied the time of the House long enough; but in favour of the officers of the British army, he had nothing to urge.

The rights of the question are, however, easily understood.

In the first place, *suspending an officer* is a very severe punishment, and it is both contrary to MAGNA CHARTA and to NATURAL and IMMUTABLE JUSTICE, that it should

ever be done, without a proper opportunity given to the party to defend himself. In this there can be no deception—about this there can be no dispute and no difference of opinion. The eternal laws of nature, and the general constitutional law of England, are the same.

Now what are the circumstances of suspending an officer without a court of inquiry into the cause? They are numerous in the circumstances under which they serve.

If officers served immediately under the eye of their sovereign, we believe, there is not one in Britain that would be afraid of the exertion of this power on an improper occasion, but when that is not the case, his majesty must *act from information*; he *must act from report*, and the report is always exparte, and by that means not to be trusted.

Far from being a prerogative that is of advantage to his majesty, it is one that it must give his humane and benevolent heart the greatest pain to exert, because he never can know that he is informed of the truth, as he has only been informed by one party: he, therefore, must have great reason to suppose that he has not come at the true state of the question.

The JUSTICE, MODERATION, and HUMANITY of his MAJESTY are such, that when TRULY INFORMED of the case, it would be no disadvantage, whether culpable or innocent, for any officer to depend implicitly upon his royal decision, which would always lean to the side of mercy. His honour and existence could not be in better hands: but if the truth does not reach the royal ear, the case is totally different, and we are sure our benignant sovereign decides with pain, where he is not certain that his information is correct; a thing that is impossible unless both parties are heard.

There are various ways, nevertheless, of viewing this business, but the most absurd of all is, to think that to make an alteration, would be diminishing the prerogative of his majesty, for the grievance does not consist in his power of decision, but in the dark and mysterious manner in which the facts are laid before the sovereign; in favour of which nothing can be adduced.

Let every officer know who is his accuser, let him have the means to justify himself to the best of his power, and he will never lose by being in the power of his majesty.

If it is believed (as it has been asserted) that to alter this would be making the army judges in its own cause, surely the matter has not been considered in a right view, for in regard to private soldiers, his majesty never is supposed to pronounce any sentence, or inflict any punishment.

Withdrawing half pay, is both attended to a certain degree, with the loss of honour and of bread, and surely the officers of the British army are not the only persons in his majesty's dominions, subjected to that without any remedy, or any means of defence.

The treating the officers in any case in an arbitrary way and indulging the men in the ranks, has been practised to a great extent in Prussia and in Russia. In our next we shall give a history of that, and at present, we trust, we have said enough to prevent the subject from being misunderstood, or resistance made to the bill proposed, though it came through the medium of a man, to whose lot it has seldom fallen to propose a safe and practicable measure. But let us remember what Mr. Pope says,

"*The rogue and fool by fits are fair and wise;*
"*And even the best at times what they despise.*"

Let the measure be resisted or adopted on its own merits, or demerits, this is the way to make good regulations in any department.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

ON MONOPOLY OF PROVISIONS.

Monopoly was ever without law, but never without friends.—LORD COKE. 3 INST. 182.

As the EXISTENCE of MONOPOLY on PROVISIONS is doubted by the POLITICAL ECONOMISTS of the present day, on the authority of Dr. ADAM SMITH, a writer of great abilities, though not always right (and in this instance certainly wrong) we shall preface the important subject, by shewing how this has been regarded by OUR ANCESTORS.

If Dr. ADAM SMITH is right in saying that "monopoly of provisions is like witchcraft, an ideal crime," then Lord COKE, and the greatest lawyers, as well as our ministers and representatives in times past, have been nothing better than a set of old women, occupied in fighting with a shadow; or like a man in a dream, wrestling with a ghost.

As we have begun, and mean to continue to combat those persons who endeavour to make the people imagine they labour under grievances that do not exist, and that a REFORM OF PARLIAMENT, BURNING the RED BOOK, and such other things are necessary for their happiness (WHICH IS NOT THE CASE) so we are determined (as far as possible) to combat the REAL evils that do exist, and may be removed; amongst which MONOPOLY, or a sort of combination, that produces the same effect as if it were EXCLUSIVE MONOPOLY, is one of the greatest.

In all countries, and at all times, the law has interfered to prevent those who produced or possessed the necessaries of life, from extorting exorbitant prices, by taking advantage of the urgent necessity of the the consumer, which, from experience, they have been found liable to do.

The necessaries of life (victuals) are nearly in the same situation with money that is to be lent, and the laws against usury, are of the same class with those against monopoly, forestalling, &c.

It has never been alleged, that the laws against usury could be dispensed with without danger, except by Turgot, and the most decided of the *French economists*. The great LORD BACON, (whose soundness of judgment, we believe, yields to that of no man) says expressly "that the sharp tooth of usury should be ground, that it may not bite too deep."

Dr. SMITH does not carry his theory so far as to reprobate the laws against usury, though it is contrary to his *general theory* of leaving trade entirely free, though the lender of money and the borrower are in the same situation with the buyer and seller of provisions of the first necessity: that is to say, the borrower is sometimes entirely in the power of the lender, and is thereof tempted to give an exorbitant interest. That the purchasers of provisions are in the same situation occasionally, is recorded in history, from the time that Joseph, the son of the Patriarch, was prime minister in Egypt.*

The laws respecting ENGROSSING, FORESTALLING, and MONOPOLY, originated in the experience of mankind, from the earliest ages and the most authentic records, and even before these were written statutes, those who were found guilty of such practices were punished.

What FORESTALLING, ENGROSSING, *and* REGRATING *were at common law (that is, before any act of parliament was made concerning them) and how punished.*

* It is a curious circumstance that Jacob, who purchased his brother's birthright for a mess of pottage when he was hungry, should be the father of Joseph who monopolized all the lands of a kingdom by similar means, and that the Jews are the race of men who have dealt in usury for years.

All endeavours, whatsoever, to enhance the common price of any merchandize, and all kinds of practices which have any apparent tendency thereto; whether by spreading false rumours, or by buying things in a market before the accustomed hour, or by buying and selling again the same thing, in the same market, or any such like devices, are highly criminal at common law; and all such offences anciently came under the general notion of forestalling; which includes engrossing, regrating, and all kinds of offences of thie nature. And surely there can be no attempt of this kind, but must be looked upon as an high offence against the public, as it apparently tends to put a check upon trade, to the general inconvenience of the people, by putting it out of their power to supply themselves with a commodity, without an unreasonable exponce, which often proves extremely oppressive to the poorer sort, and cannot but give just cause of complaint to the richest.

But it hath been resolved, that any merchant, whether he be a subject or foreigner, bringing victuals, or any other merchandize, into the realm, may sell the same in gross; but that no person can lawfully buy within the realm any merchandize in gross, and sell the same in gross again, because, by such means, the price will be enhanced; for the more hands any merchandize passeth through the dearer it must grow, because every one will make his profit of it; and if such practices were allowable, a rich man might engross in his hands a whole commodity, and then sell it out at what price he should think fit; which is of such dangerous consequence, that the bare engrossing of a whole commodity, with an intent to sell it at an unreasonable price, is an offence indictable at the common law, whether any part thereof be sold to the engrosser or not.

And so jealous is the common law of all practices of this kind, that it will not suffer corn to be sold in the sheaf; perhaps, for this reason, because, by such means, the market is, in effect, forestalled. As to the manner whereby offences of this kind are punishable by the common law, it is said, that by an ancient statute, the offender was to be grievously amerced for the first offence; for the second, to be condemned to the pillory; for the third, to be imprisoned; and for the fourth, to abjure the vill: and there seems to be no doubt but that, at this day, all offenders of this kind are liable to a fine and imprisonment, answerable to the heinousness of their offence, upon an indictment at common law.

As we do not intend (nor have we room) to give all the statutes on this subject, the following list will serve those who are desirous of referring to any of them.

What FORESTALLING, ENGROSSING, *and* REGRATING, *are by statute, and how restrained and punished.*

The statute relating to the offences are Judic. Pillor. 51 Hen. 3. stat. 6. sec. 3. Ordin, pro pistor. incert. temp. c. 10. 23 Ed. 3. c. 6. 25 Ed. 3. stat. 4. c. 3. 27 Ed. 3. stat. 2. c. 11. 31 Ed. 3. stat. 1. c. 10. 2 Ric. 2. stat. 1. c. 2. 6 Ric. 2. c. 10. 11 Ric. 2. c. 7. 1 Hen. 4. c. 17. 14 Hen. 6. c. 6. 25 Hen. 8. c. 2. 2 and 3 Ed. 6. c. 15. 3 and 4 Ed. 6. c. 21. 5 and 6 Ed. 6. c. 14. 5 Eliz. c. 5. and 12. 13 Eliz. c. 25. 21 Jac. 1. c. 22. and 1 Will. and Ma. sess. 1. c. 12.

Previous to the reign of JAMES THE FIRST, the sovereigns of England exerted their power of granting, at will, monopoly, either for their own advantage, or to favor individuals. (HENRY VII. who amassed immense treasures, and left them in specie concealed in the palace at Kew,) got the most part by this means. HENRY VIII. MARY, EDWARD VI. and ELIZABETH, all followed the same practice; but it was limited by 21 JAMES I. c. 3. so that if

unadvisedly a patent for monopoly were granted, as before, for any thing other than a new discovery or invention, it might be set aside by an appeal to a court of common law. The law of patents for inventions originates in this statute, on which the learned Lord Coke makes the following observations:

"It appeareth, by the preamble of this act (as a judgment in parliament) that all grants of monopolies are against the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, and therefore it is necessary to define what a monopoly is.

"A monopoly is an institution, or allowance by the king, by his grant, commission, or otherwise, to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, or for the sole buying, selling, making, working, or using of any thing, whereby any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, are sought to be restrained of any freedom or liberty, that they had before, or hindered in their lawful trade.

"For the word monopoly, *dicitus i solo, i. vendere, quod est, cum unus solus aliquod genus mercaturæ & universum vendit, ut solus vendat, pretium ad suam libitum Statuens:* hereof you may read more at large in that case. And the law of the realm in this point is grounded upon the law of God, which saith, *Non accipies loco pignoris inferiorum et superiorum molam, quæ animam suam apposuit tibi:* Thou shalt not take the nether or upper mill-stone to pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge. Whereby it appeareth, that a man's trade is accounted his life, because it maintaineth his life; and therefore the monopolist that taketh away a man's trade taketh away his life, and therefore is much the more odious, because he is *vir sanguinis.*

"Against these inventors and propounders of evil things the Holy Ghost hath spoken, *Inventores malorum, &c. digni sunt morti.*"

That monopolies are against the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm (as is declared by this act) and that the monopolist was in times past, and is much more now, punishable, for obtaining and procuring of them, we will demonstrate it by reason, and prove it by authority.

Whatsoever offence is contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, is punishable by the law; but the use of a monopoly is contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm; therefore the use of a monopoly is punishable by law.

That offence which is contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws is *malum in se.* The minor is proved by this declaration in parliament.

The liberty that the subject hath to go to any clerk in the king's court, cannot be restrained but by parliament.

In 50 Ed. 3. John Peachie, of London, was severely punished for procuring a licence under the great seal, that he only might sell sweet wines in London.

See in the preambles of 9 E. 3. cap. 1. 25 E. 3. cap. 2. 27 Ed. 3. and 28 Ed. 3. stat. Stap. 2 R. 2. cap. 1. See the statute of Magna Charta cap. 3. 31 E. 3. cap. 10. 7 H. 4. cap. 9. and 12 H. 7. cap. 6. and 1 and 2 Ph. and Mar. cap. 14. Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2. nu. 20. 4. R. 2. nu. 39. 5 R. 2. nu. 89. T.

If no such things as monopoly existed, we think it is probable that Lord Coke would not have written thus. We shall then shew, that by a secret understanding, though not by compact, or authority, a number of individuals may join in monopolizing, as effectually as any privileged company whatever.

The great contest, as it has long been carried on, is this, writers on the subject, of the greatest reputation, maintain, that all great companies monopolize, but that individuals do not, and have it not in their power to do so. The contrary is asserted by many, and we agree with the many, and shall prove from numerous facts, and from numerous trials in the courts of law, that mo-

nopoly, by *combination*, is as practical and real, as *monopoly* by *privilege*.

It is on the truth or falsehood of this assertion, that we are at issue with the *French Economists* and *Dr. Adam Smith*, though the latter has not carried his ideas on the subject quite so far as the former.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

WEST INDIA PLANTERS.

THE subject of the *West India Planters*, is one that will soon come before parliament and the public; it has already been investigated in part, before a committee of the House of Commons, but the whole affair is so involved in detail, that the members of the committee do not seem to have been able to form any distinct opinion.

The *West India Merchants* examined, have brought forward accounts of the annual expence of certain estates, producing a certain number of hogsheads of sugar yearly, and by dividing the total expence of the estate by the total number of hogsheads, they have estimated the prime cost.

By this mode it has appeared, that sugar costs about £.1 10*d*. in the island per cwt. and when brought to the London markets, about £. 1 16*s*. or nearly 5*s*. more, than the price for which it sells, and has sold for some time in the market.

It follows from this, that the planters or proprietors of estates are *losing money*; this is one part of the business to be investigated.

The second is what is the cause? and the third, what is the best remedy?

As to the statement that the planters *are losing*, we have some good reasons for *doubting the reality of that*, and we can easily conceive how the mistake arises.

RUM is an article that arises from the growing of sugar, and TREACLE is another. The rum is a very important one, and formerly it was said to defray a great part of the expences of raising the sugar; what proportion it may defray will naturally depend on circumstances; we shall therefore not consider that, but we will maintain, that rum and treacle do pay some part, and as no credit has been taken for them, the statements laid before the committee are not accurate. The loss of 5*s*. then is not established, on undeniable or positive grounds, and perhaps it will be found that the rum and treacle do more than bring the business to a level, so that the West India planter still gains a little, though perhaps not so much as he is entitled to gain on a capital engaged on so hazardous an employment.

We by no means wish to assert that relief ought not, to some extent, and in some form, be afforded to the merchants and planters, but we think it is quite necessary to examine their evidence, and see whether they are right as to the extent of the relief wanted, and as to the manner of granting it.

We are in a situation to prove that there is a West India planter, or proprietor of estates in Jamaica, that was receiving last summer considerable sums from a West India house in London, *as profits on the sales of sugar*, at the same time that one of the acting partners in that same house stated, that the West India produce was selling under its original cost; which implies, that the planters are running in debt.

We ANTICIPATE an answer, or rather an explanation, that may be given in this case. It may be said, that the money paid to this West India planter arises from former arrears due to him, or from letting the estates decay, by not keeping up the stock of negro slaves, of cattle or machinery; in short, that the expences are paid from the deterioration of the property, and the sugars being produced, there is a balance due to the proprietor upon the sales, not arising from profits, but from a delapidation of the estates, and a diminution of capital.

Such a situation of things might admit of the merchants making payments to the proprietor, though there were no profits at the

time; but we know, in the instance alluded to, that it is not so; for that the proprietor has no former balance due to him from that quarter; and as to decay of stock on the estates, the merchants themselves have the power, and it is to their interest to prevent that.

It is then clear, if what we advance is true, that there is still a profit on the raising of sugar on those estates.

We do not wish to bring forward proofs; but, if what we say is contradicted, we are ready to do so if it is denied; or if we are called upon by the merchants in question; and if we are not called upon, it will be a tacit confession that we are right.

If these merchants, so situated, pay annually balances on the sales of sugar, in this manner, it is clear that there is still a profit arises from West-India property, and therefore the statements given in, about the expence of raising, and bringing home sugars, which appear to be greater than the produce of said sugars in the market, is not accurate.

In our next, we shall shew to what extent the planters require relief, and how it may be given, without any injury to the nation at large; but we cannot help thinking, that their claim on account of aid, because a large capital is embarked; is absurd, and it ought fairly to be understood, that the question of relief to the planters is not at all a *question of right*, but a *question of expediency*.

Every man that invests capital in trade, does it for his own interest; and surely the *manufacturers* in *Manchester* or *Birmingham*, who has sunk their money in *spinning-mills*, *rolling-mills*, *looms*, or other expensive machinery, if by national events those implements of trade have become useless, have as good a claim to the full for indemnity, as the man who has purchased his *fellow creatures*, (because they are of a dingy hue) and treated them as slaves, to labour under the lash of an *overbearing ignorant overseer*, *on a soil that we have usurped*, *from the aborigines of the country*.

We shall always treat every question with *independance* and *spirit*, and we hope with *some* intelligence; and it shall not be our fault, if the West India merchants mislead the legislature by exaggerated accounts, and by asserting a *claim of right*, where at most there is only one of *expediency*.

[*To be continued in our next*]

NEW MODE OF RECRUITING THE ARMY——IMPROVING WASTE LANDS, AND INCREASING THE STRENGTH AND POPULATION OF THE KINGDOM.—*Resumed from Page* 39.

As this subject is now under consideration, and presses imperiously upon the nation, we shall give it as completely as we can immediately.

At present the augmentation of wealth and capital would then be very great, and population would go on in the same proportion. England and Scotland would be increased one-fourth in all those respects.

This advantage, is, indeed, at a distance, but it is neither light nor uncertain; add to this, that in new grants of lands, some conditions might be attached, relative to the raising hemp, flax, and timber, that cannot be done with lands already occupied, though the situation of things renders it necessary to grow within our own island every thing necessary for its own defence, such as all sorts of naval stores; besides that; the growth of corn has of late years, not been equal to our consumption; a circumstance that is at any time terrible, but would have been totally ruinous, had our great commerce not enabled us to bear it. Those advantages are very great and evident, but would require a detail far beyond the range of this general view of the plan, but common sense and a little reflection, will make it appear evident and certain, that advantages will be great and numerous.

4th. Parish Taxes and Poor Rates.

There will be a great number of persons to pay the expence. The widows and children of soldiers will make no part of our poor (as far as this goes); at present they make a considerable portion of it: and small farms being again restored, occupation will be given to a set of people, who the wealthy and extensive farmer will not employ. As there are one million of persons who receive relief now in the year, and the expence is five millions, the diminution would, no question of it, be very great, but to attempt calculating it would be highly absurd.

5th. Increase of Revenue.

This of necessity would keep pace with the wealth and population of the country. It would commence in about fifteen years, and gradually increase till it would amount to about six millions a year. Supposing the present rate of taxation continues, and that the newly-created habitations only paid half as much all over the kingdom.

6th. General Amelioration in point of National Hopes and National Character, and the Effect on our Enemies.

This is a most important thing. The hopes spring from the five different sorts of advantages already enumerated. In place of increasing expence, and embarrassments sinking us in despair, we should see prospects of another sort; and, above all, *permanent preparations for permanent dangers*. Our *temporary* shifts, our perpetual change of plan, afford no confidence, no solid satisfaction amongst ourselves, and are the ground of hope to our enemies. The nation now must display resolution and character suitable to the great game she is preparing to play. The first step towards which is to shew, that neither presence of mind, genius to discover resources, nor vigour to put them in practice, are wanting. It might be painful to make remarks on the necessity of shewing to France, that while she is taking gigantic strides towards universal monarchy, and the eternal destruction of British property, we are no longer disposed to depend on palliatives or temporary revenues, but that we have seriously set to work, to give our country that strength and stability now become so necessary to its existence.

Such are the advantages; we have next to examine the objections and difficulties, which are but few.

The commons are considered as of some value to the poor—that they are of very little, not more than one penny per acre yearly rent *; so that a common of 1680 acres, (the average size) at three shillings an acre fee simple, might be purchased from those who have the right, at the very liberal price of £250, so that each lot to the soldier would amount to about £.4, which, with the eventual chance of life, and at the distance of fifteen years, is not equal to thirty shillings at the present moment.

We have not room to develope this plan in one number, nor to explain the means by which the brave defenders of their country may be rewarded in a *solid* and *extensive* manner; but we shall give the scale of land and money, and also the other advantages, in our next.

We cannot, however, finish this without observing, that there is no other means by which the defenders of the country can be so completely connected with its interests, as by making *land* a reversion for every man, who, for the service, has *done his duty*.

In another part of our paper it will be seen that we are equally attentive to the welfare of the officers of the *British army*.

---

* See Sir John Sinclair's agricultural reports.

A SINGULAR EXAMPLE OF ANTICIPATION.

THE following PROPHETIC lines were written in France during the time that Mons. Turgot was minister (that is about forty years ago), in the latter days of Lewis XV.—Turgot was one of the chiefs of the sect of French ECONOMISTS, and destroyed *Corporations, all sorts of commercial privileges, &c.* as far as his time and power would allow him to proceed, thereby preparing the way for *general liberty and equality*, by establishing liberty and equality in commercial affairs.

That the evil tendency of his reforms were foreseen is proved by those lines, which are translated into English in a manner suited to the present circumstances of this country.

FRENCH LINES.	FREE TRANSLATION.
1.	1.
Vivent tous nos *beaux esprits*,	Long live *all the talents!*
Encyclopedistes,	Famous Romanists,
Du bonheur Francais epris,	Far wiser than their parents—
Grand œconomistes;	Great economists.
Par leur soign au autems d'Adam	To restore the golden age
Nous reviendrons, c'est leur plan,	In old England, is the rage
Momus les assiste,	Of philosophists,
O gai	Indeed,
Momus les assiste.	Of philosophists.
2.	2.
Ce n'est pas de nos bouquins	Not from old experience
Que vient leur science;	Do they draw their plan;
En eux, se fera paladins,	Talents are their sole pretence,
Ont le sapience;	Question those who can.
Les COLBERTS et les SULLYS,	Chatham's much-lamented son,
Nous paraissent, grands, mais fi!	We did reckon great. What fun!
Ce n'est qu' ignorance.	He was but a man,
O gai	Indeed
Ce n'est qu' ignorance.	He was but a man.
3.	3.
On vera tous les etats,	All men in the nation,
Entre eux se confondre,	Prince, peer, and peasant,
Et les pauvres sur leur grabats;	Shall have the same station,
Ne plus se morfondre;	Beggars what they want:
Des biens on fera des lots,	Property shall equal be,
Qui rendront les gens egaux.	This is true equality.
Le bel æuf a pondre!	Oh what a botheration,
O gai	Indeed,
Le bel æuf a pondre!	Oh what a botheration.

4.

Du meme pas marcheront
Nobless et roture ;
Les Francais retourneront
Au droit de nature ;
Adieu *parlemens* et *lois*,
Ducs et *grand seigneurs* et *rois*,
La bonne avanture,
O gai
La bonne avanture !

5.

Puis devenus vertueux
Par philosophie ;
Les Francais auront des dieux,
A leur phantasie ;
Nous reverrons un oaion
A Jesus donner le pion.
Oh quelle harmonie !
O gai
Oh quelle harmonie !

6.

Partizans des novations
La fine sequelle,
La France des nations
Fera la modelle ;
Et cet honneur nous devrons,
A TURGOT et ses compagnons ;
Besoign immortelle ;
O gai
Besoign immortelle !

7.

A qui devrons nous le plus ?
C'est a notre maitre ;
Qui se croyant un abus,
Ne voulait plus l'etre ;
Ah q'uil faut aimer le bien,
Pour de roi n'etre plus rien !
J'enverrai tout paitre,
O gai
J'enverrai tout paitre.

4.

On equality shall be
Master and servant ;
Britons then will quickly see
What the Talents want.
Adieu judges, useless things,
Princes, parliaments, and kings.
O what silly cant !
Indeed,
O what silly cant !

5.

Good and virtuous when become
By philosophy ;
Englishmen shall have their Gods
To their phantasy.
To christian pure morality
Shall succeed brutality.
Oh what harmony !
Indeed,
Oh what harmony !

6.

Leading innovations
This cunning squad ;
Shall to other nations
Be the mighty dad.
This honour is to H——k due,
To G———e and to P——y too,
Glorious lads,
Indeed,
Glorious lads.

7.

To whom do we owe the most ?
'Tis our royal master ;
Who, that all should not be lost,
Held his crown the faster,
Much to him his people owe,
Who such firmness could shew,
May he keep his post,
O God !
May he keep his post.

The last stanza is quite changed in the translation; the conduct of the British king being quite different from that of the French monarch.

TRUE TRANSLATION OF THE LAST STANZA.

To whom do we owe the most?
To our royal master;
Who, absented from his post,
To let them go faster.
What love for reformation,
To quit his high station,
And give all to chance!!
Indeed,
And give all to chance!!

To THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I wish you would assist the good citizens of London, in ANTICIPATING the evil that will arise from encouraging those MOCK SALE SHOPS, that are now opened in every part of the town particularly in the LINEN-DRAPERY way.

When the Londoners went to see the conjuror jump into a quart bottle, it was a piece of fun; and though they might be laughed at for credulity, the laugh, (in my opinion,) was not quite fair, as most of those who went (I was then a very young man, and was there myself), not expecting to see how the impostor would get *safe into the bottle*, but how he would get *safe out of the house*. Curiosity was gratified, and I never did conceive the dupery to be great. An impudent fellow, tells you he will perform an impossibility; you know he cannot do what he says, but you give half a crown to see how he will get off? how the affair will terminate? This is a most natural sort of curiosity, and it is to something similar to this, that we owe the interest inspired by tragedy, by romance, and even by real history. How will this difficulty terminate? When we see how that ill all interest vanishes away.

When I see a crowd pushing into the shop of an impudent fellow, who says, "Goods sold here 30 per cent. under prime cost," I am at a loss to account for the feelings of those around the door.

Are they dupes, and believe that the goods are really so much under prime cost? then they deserve pity, and to be cut for the simples. Are they rogues, and wish to participate with a swindler, who is selling goods that he never can pay for? If so, they are a sort of partners in the transaction. They are a kind of receivers of goods that have been partly stolen. This is a sort of a fraction of a thief, attended with this aggravating circumstance, that the receiver is told before-hand that the goods never have been paid for.

The French call us a SHOP-KEEPING NATION, but if we go on thus, it will be better to call us a SHOP-LIFTING nation: in short, no name is too contemptible, for people who wish to purchase goods under their fair value. FOOLS or KNAVES are two disagreeable terms, and a mixture of the two will not make it much more palatable, but those, who with eyes open, aid in robbing the sons of industry, deserve no better an appellation.

As, however, there are persons who will mind nothing, provided they can get a cheap bargain, I wish to let the world know, through the channel of your excellent paper, that those who frequent the shops in question, wish to be rogues, and are in reality dupes; they wish to buy goods under the fair price, and they generally pay much more than the value.

Those goods are what in trade are termed WASTERS, such as have blemishes, that disqualifies them for a good market; or they are made merely for show; but dupes!

upon it, they are not worth the money given, and that the impudent proprietors live not on the LOSS ON THEIR TRADE, but on the CREDULITY of the PUBLIC.

If you insert this, I shall next explain to you, how the business is managed.

Your obedient servant,

AN OLD OBSERVER.

London, March, 20, 1808.

TO THE WRITER OF ANTICIPATION

SIR,

As you have begun upon the important subject of the price of bread, I am inclined to write to you, as from the experience I have had, I must naturally know some things that no person, who has not been in the baking line, can possibly be acquainted with.

I began business at the age of twenty for myself, in a very populous neighbourhood, in the year 1759, and I continued in it till 1803, so that I was a baker about forty-four years, in which time that change took place which your table of prices so distinctly proves.

When I began business, 10s. was the price for baking a sack of flour, and the price of the case at that time was about 22s.; so that, according to profits, and the smallness of capital, a baker could always pay his way with his flour-merchant, and the regular credit was six weeks. The profit on baking at that time, after paying for fire, salt, yeast, journeymens' wages, &c. was about 5s. on the sack, and I baked about twelve or thirteen sacks a week, one half of which was sold on credit, and the other half, or nearly about it, for ready money.

As six months was the longest credit in the usual course, and many not more than three, I think the fair way is to reckon as follows.

In six months I sold 272 sacks, the price of which was about £.300. I had *a profit* of £.75; and £.75 more that went *for* wages, so that my return in that *time for* bread sold, was £.450, and as I had six weeks credit for the flour, and upon an average, had the whole of my money in three months or less, I never was in advance above, from 80 or £.100, for the flour.

Then Sir, besides shop, fixtures, &c. £.100 was quite sufficient capital for me, but before I left the trade £.500 was not sufficient, and instead of having 5s. a *sack* profit, I had not 3s.

This is a terrible change, for the 5s. profit was 5s. upon £. I laid out, or equal to 25 per cent.; but now we have only 3s. upon £.3, which is only five per cent.

You are quite right, in saying that the bakers are not sufficiently paid now, but what is the consequence?

There is not one baker in ten, who is not in the power of his flour-merchant; the same as the publicans are, for the most part, in the power of the brewer and distiller: they are therefore obliged to take what is sold, without disputing either the price or the quality, as an arrest might be the immediate consequence of their doing so.

The bakers are for the most part POOR; they begin POOR and industrious journeymen, who have saved a little money, or got a few pounds; so that there is not a set of tradesmen in London, who turn so much capital with so little stock of their own; and I do not see, sir, how this can be altered. A journeyman baker is a very laborious life, and people who can give their sons money, never send them apprentice to that trade. This will always be the case. So that there is no remedy in respect to that, in my poor opinion; but I think two things might be of use, and the parliament should interfere in the following manner, and then bread would be cheaper. Indeed, it would be at a fair price, as usual.

I would not allow the rich to get into debt with their baker, for it is very hard that a man, who can pay ready money, should get credit, and buy as cheap as the poor man, who wants credit, and cannot get it. The poor man pays for the credit given to the rich, which is one of the hardest and most unfair things I know; for if the rich took credit no longer than a month, (which is plenty to avoid the trouble of paying every time) then the young bakers would not be in the power of the flour-factors as they are now, which is the cause of the evil.

You may think, Sir, I am proposing a thing that cannot be done, conformable with the rights of British subjects; but though I am a man of no learning, I have plain sense, a great deal of experience, and have thought about it for a number of years.

I know that it is impossible, consistently with justice, to prevent one man from giving credit to another; but if an act of parliament were made about bread (as in the case of minors) that no debt to a baker for more than five pounds could be recovered, then there would be no long credit given, and this would be no injury to any one; for persons who can get credit for bread do not stand in need of it, and can pay ready money without inconveniency, while those who want credit cannot get it.

I humbly think, Sir, that as no method can be taken to make bakers men of capital, there should be a method taken to prevent capital from being required.

If you insert this in you shall here from me again.

AN OLD BAKER.

Fleet Market, March 16, 1808.

We are highly obliged to our correspondent the "Old Baker:"—his statement is correct in every part, and his proposal for a remedy, such as we might expect from a man who had good sense and long experience. We shall indeed be glad to hear from him again, and in the mean time shall make a few observations.

If persons in affluence, or easy circumstances, would consider the expence they bring upon themselves; and if they understand the evils they entail upon the country, they would not habitually take credit for provisions of any sort, for to that is owing the highness of the price, as no man can carry on business without a large capital, and a man with a large capital will have a large profit, and indeed is entitled to it.

Besides this large capital being necessary, though it does not prevent competition, it narrows the number of competitors, and prevents the possibility of any one who is not rich and willing to sell on low profits, from attempting to do so.

In France, there were some excellent regulations about bakers, butchers, and fishmongers, which, as far as we are able, we shall state in our next; and we firmly and sincerely hope that we shall, in the course of a little time, throw such light on this important subject, as will put it in the power of the legislature to reduce the prices of provisions, without any undue or dangerous interference.

As trade *is not left entirely free*, and as it *ought not to be left entirely free*, the question to be decided is not whether the legislature should interfere, but when, and where; that is, in what cases, and in what circumstances it ought to interfere; we shall endeavour to discuss this, in a manner that will be useful and satisfactory.

(To be continued).

ANTICIPATION *with respect to* SPAIN *and* DENMARK, *and finally*, RUSSIA.

UNDER pretence of revenging DENMARK, the French propose to pour in

French troops, to pass over to SWEDEN; and under pretence of protecting that unfortunate country, the troops will remain till the DANES are left *barren* and *bare*, with nothing left that can be consumed, or carried away.—In less than three months, the friendship of France will be much more fatal, than the hostility of England.

SPAIN, once a proud and grand people, and whose honour and bravery still remain, has long been humiliated.—The Bourbon race transplanted into that country did not thrive; the Spanish branch of that family has had still less energy and character, than that which reigned in France.

Under the Princes of the House of Austria, Spain was the greatest nation existing for a considerable period.—It has been gradually sinking for two centuries, and since the French revolution, it is running rapidly to final ruin.

It is not a circumstance to be forgotten, that the King of Spain, and the Prince of Asturias, are much nearer heirs to the crown of France, than the unfortunate Duc D'Enghein, whose distant claim drew danger on his head.

As Bonaparte has now got full possession of Portugal, and has troops in Spain, we may depend on seing that country revolutionized and subdued in a very short time.—The present race of kings will certainly not be let remain; the fate of the infant King of Etruria, and of his widowed mother, (than whom no princess deserved more tender treatment if good conduct and dignity in distress, offered claims to protection) is a proof of the capricious levity, and internal dislike of Bonaparte to that race.

"The sober singleness of widowhood," with the attendant virtues thereto, to princely dignity, were only motives for first humiliating an amiable queen, and then dethroning her infant son, and adding to the number of mendicant and dependant sovereigns who bend before his rod.

It will be a curious fact to record, that while a certain party in England has occupied itself in finding out arguments for condemning the attack on Copenhagen, Bonaparte has seized Portugal, has taken possession of SPAIN, dethroned the KING of ETRURIA, and the POPE of ROME—the FATHER of the HOLY CHURCH—from whom he has wrested his temporal dominions, with threats to rob him of the keys of ST. PETER, if he does not submit with humility, to his imperious commands.

This is a striking circumstance, and shews the difference between speaking and acting; but it is more singular still, that the political moralists who exclaim so bitterly, about Britain and Copenhagen, make no complaints against the infringements of Bonaparte on neutral nations. Whether this is faction or something worse, we do not know; but, certainly it neither accords with common sense nor justice, and is quite contrary to the natural way of thinking or acting, of men attached to the HONOR of ENGLAND; for if a friend has acted wrong, it would be a singular mode of shewing an attachment, to put the worst construction on the act.

Are there in this country men so much afraid of Bonaparte, that they dare not apply to him those severe moral rules by which they judge of their own country? Are they so tenderly alive to his feelings, that they will not venture to give him the smallest pain?

RUSSIA will not be overcome, for that is impossible; but that great empire, which alone could have withstood the formidable power of France, is become subservient to its will. Russia now serves France as Sampson served the Philistines, when his eyes were out, alternately an engine of utility or an object of sport. That great colossal power is in a state of bondage, and unless its native energy alters the system, a few years will reduce it to a situation deserving contempt, unallayed by any feeling of pity or commiseration.

AN ORIGINAL WORK.

We have great pleasure in announcing to our numerous subscribers, that we are enabled (by a very singular piece of good fortune) to promise them a most interesting series of letters on very important subjects, and written by an able hand, that were intended for a separate publication, which, in the present fashionable mode of publishing with wide lines and large margins, would cost more than the whole of our first volume of seventeen numbers.

There are twenty-two letters in all, and they will be comprised in our first volume.

The following contents we announce, and the whole of the manuscript is *now* in our possession, and will be given regularly,

ENTITLED

LETTERS

From Old Politicians

IN THE SHADES,

To Young Politicians

IN THE SUN-SHINE,

In the beginning of the Year 1808.

Letter 1. The Right Wm. Pitt—To the Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

Letter 2. The Right Hon. Wm. Earl of Chatham—To the present British Cabinet.

Letter 3. The Right Hon. Edmund Burke—To the Right Hon. Windham.

Letter 4. The Right Hon. Charles James Fox—To his dispersed Party.

Letter 5. Henry V. of England—To His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Letter 6. His Grace the Duke of Marlborough—To His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Letter 7. The Right Hon. Wm. Pitt—To the Right Hon. Spencer Percival.

Letter 8. Peter the Great—To the Emperor Alexander.

Letter 9. Philip Duke of Orleans—To the Prince of Wales.

Letter 10. Hamlet, Prince of Denmark—To the Crown Prince.

Letter 11. Marat, the French Gazetteer—To Peter Cobbett, the English Gazetteer.

Letter 12. The Duke D'Enghein—To Marquis Wellesley.

Letter 13. Beau Nash—To Lord Viscount Folkestone.

Letter 14. General Washington—To Bonaparte.

Letter 15. Frederick the Great—To the present King of Prussia.

Letter 16. Sir Isaac Newton—To the Modern Philosophers.

Letter 17. Doctor Adam Smith—To the Political Economists.

Letter 18. Alfred the Great—To the People of England.

Letter 19. Voltaire—To the People of France.

Letter 20. Abbe Raynal—To the People America.

Letter 21. The Right Hon. Lord Mansfield—To Mr. Attorney-General.

Letter 22. The Right Hon. Lord Kenyon—To the Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough.

TO OUR NUMEROUS SUBSCRIBERS.

The rapid progress of political events, and of questions of an interesting nature, about to be discussed and examined, are such, that we can with difficulty keep pace with them.

The *price of provisions*, and the affairs of the Army, we consider as primary objects, and therefore we shall never omit them in any number of our publication, but on other subjects we must be brief.

The assistance to be given by this country to Lewis the Eighteenth, is now about to be decided upon; but we hope that mi-

sisters will not forget, that in every bargain there ought to be an equivalent.

As Lewis has rendered himself obnoxious to the French nation, by his *improvident* and *ill-advised* declaration, it is necessary that he should recant, or rather give up, his *claim of right to the throne of France*, before any regular and annual income should be allowed to him.

If we take that prince by the hand in a permanent manner, national honour will compel us to continue; but is that to be done unless he will abandon his bad advisers? Is that to be done, or ought it to be done, unless he will declare such principles, and adopt such a mode of conduct, as will, at a future day, enable us, with justice and dignity, to afford him protection? we must say, certainly not——Next number we shall be more full upon this important subject; for that person is the rival of BONAPARTE, and BONAPARTE is the master of the continent of Europe.

The attack made on Sir HOME POPHAM, is in consequence of the system of BONAPARTE, to tending destroy and derange every energetic servant of the British Government.

The affair in discussion with the Government of the United States of America, is not liable to be much forwarded by any observations that can be made on this side of the water. It is matter to be arranged, not by the will of either of the parties therein concerned; it is between two opposite interests, and of course, does not depend on the will of either. It must, like every bargain, be decided by the parties, in which each will fight for his own interest.

The anecdotes of BARONS de ROLL and HOMPESCH, who have so long fattened on the funds of England, in our next.

Of the FIVE admirable letters written by order of the Empress MARIA THERESA, to the late QUEEN of FRANCE, we shall speak in a future number. They are as curious as they are ADMIRABLE, and we the correspondent for the copy.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE letter of SCIPIO AFRICANUS, on the military tactics of the French, shall appear in our next, it contains some information, from which the officers of the British army, may take excellent hints.——We agree perfectly with the Roman general, that to copy from an enemy, is sometimes necessary, and that a resolution not to do so in any case, is dangerous in the extreme; the Romans by doing so, were enabled to perfect their military system, and conquer the world—We agree also in the justice of his remark, that the very essence of military skill consists not in following a routine, but in altering measures and manœuvres, to circumstances. Horses are stronger then men, but they follow always the same routine; it is by superior address, and acting according to the nature of the enemy, that man though feeble, conquers the whole of the brute creation; that he kills those that cannot be subdued to useful service, and makes such as can be useful subservient to his will.

N. O.—Shall have early attention.

We doubt whether the OLD OFFICER is correct, and we think, that though many abuses will always prevail in a large administration, yet that both ministry and the commander in chief, have of late years done all in their power for the army.

The letter relative to the coal contract, with ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, Esq. is come to hand—it is too long for insertion at once, but it shall be inserted in justice to the public, and that the gentlemen, who have got such accounts to inspect and regulate, may know that SOMETHING is expected, as the result of their labours.

Printed by W. Glindon, Rupert street, Haymarket, and published by R. Field, 362, Strand, where the first and second Numbers may be had.

N°. 4.

Printed by W. GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published by R. FIELD, Newcastle-Street, Strand;

SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

COMPRISING

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS.
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN LAWS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

IMPORTANT ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Gentlemen and fellow-subjects,

IT is a matter of infinite regret, to see how the time of the representatives of the nation is occupied on matters of little or no importance, whilst others of the greatest magnitude call for their attention.

This is the more to be lamented, that the exertions of the executive government are impeded by it, while our great enemy, without control, impediment, or check of any kind, aims at our eternal destruction; and the lance he brandishes is to be hurled at England with the whole united force of submissive and subservient Europe!!!

We complain, fellow-men, of party and cabal, when the enemy is at our gates; but we can stop that ourselves. It is in the public voice that party struggles originate.

The whole force of opposition consists in popularity; its weakness in the want of it; and therefore the business is, no matter by what means, to stir up discontent. Surely it will be allowed that, at this time, those who speak of their own country as disgraced by the single affair of Denmark, and who look over the ninety and nine infringements of Bonaparte on peaceable, defenceless, and neutral nations, shew that they are prepared to go any lengths in exciting discontent.

But it is not our practice or intention to confine ourselves either to barren COMPLAINT, or even to EXPLANATION—we aim

at REMEDY, which is of practicable utility.

In this case, let the people assemble in every different county, and address parliament to something like the following effect.

"We, the undersigned inhabitants, &c. of the city (or county) of ***, beg leave to represent, that at a time when the most important questions wait for discussion and demand it, feel ourselves obliged to observe, that great danger attaches to the nation, from the time and attention of our representatives being taken almost entirely up on questions either of no importance, or on objects that are past, and cannot be altered, or in the daily routine of public and private business, scarcely one single day has been yet dedicated to the real, solid and permanent interests of the country.

"We cannot but anticipate the worst effects from such a mode of proceeding, and feeling as we do, that it is not in the power of his majesty's ministers to avoid discussing every question brought on, we humbly do observe, that the evil does lie at the door of those who do not form any part of the executive government.

"We do not mean in this address to give an opinion on the conduct of his majesty's ministers, or to weigh in our minds the talents or the patriotism of the parties, but we do consider that the servants of the executive power should be aided and not resisted at this crisis; and that bringing questions before parliament, which are not necessary to be discussed, is very injurious to the nation.

"Having said so much with respect to those who oppose his majesty's ministers, we have to observe to those who support them, as well as to the whole of our representatives, that a part of their time and their serious attention, should be devoted to permanent and solid means of ameliorating the situation of the country, and of resisting its inveterate enemies.

"We do not think it necessary to point out to your wisdom what we think would contribute most to the welfare of the nation; but encouragement of industry at home, looking after new channels of trade abroad, and remedying grievances that exist, in a safe and practicable way, are the objects to which your chief attention should be turned at this time; we therefore humbly, but seriously, request that all subjects that have not a direct tendency to the safety and happiness of the nation, may be reserved to a period of peace and tranquillity."——Signed by THOUSANDS, &c. &c.

If such addresses were passed, not in one or two places, but all over the country, we should soon see the good effect—we should soon see that the parliament would occupy its time on very different objects, from the *attack on Copenhagen that is past—the call for papers that will not be read—and discussions about the orders of council, which can only be proved to be good or bad by their effects.*

What is past it may be of importance to examine, but still some limit ought to be set to the inquiring zeal of those who wish to place England like Sampson in the arms of Dalilah, till his hair was cut, and his strength departed from him.

Englishmen—there is but one opinion in the nation relative to the occupation of parliament—all agree that the objects are not those of the greatest importance to the welfare of the country—all agree that much time is taken up on objects that might wait, and on objects not necessary—and all agree that the most important are overlooked. Let us then, like men, express our wish and our opinion in a constitutional manner; for though we may not be all of one opinion respecting what is to be done to save the nation, and to improve its situation, we all must agree that parliament ought to be employed on that object.

In hopes that you will consider the fairness of this address, the importance of the subject, and the independent spirit in which it is written, I subscribe myself

Your fellow countryman.

London, March 23, 1808.

We so fully agree with the advantage that would arise to the country from adopting the plan proposed, that we have given to the Letter of * * * * * the first place in our publication; we hope it will be attended to, and if it is, it shall be our endeavour to point out objects fairly deserving of attention; and we cannot help observing, that the zeal manifested about petitions for peace, which cannot advance the wished for object, would be much better if exerted in trying to prevent those captious proceedings in parliament, that retard and impede the real business which ought to occupy the representatives of the people.

We know that the party wrangling in parliament meets with general disapprobation, and we do confess, that we think if there is a way to stop it, that ought to be attempted. We go still further, and declare it as our opinion, that the mode of address proposed, is the most likely to succeed of any, of which we have heard, or that has occurred to us; we therefore heartily thank our correspondent.

REVIEW OF MR. ROSCOE'S PAMPHLET.—*Continued from page* 45.

THE death of Mr. Pitt we are told—"struck with a sudden panic his colleagues "in office; the reins of government fell "from their hands; a change in the administration of the country took place, "and the union of Lord Grenville and Mr. "Fox with that of their friends, encouraged the hope, not only of a speedy termination of hostilities, but of that steady "and gradual amelioration in our domestic "concerns, which, without alarming the "fears of the weak, might satisfy the reasonable expectations of the country. "Nor was much time suffered to elapse "before measures were taken for realizing "those expectations. In the month of February, 1806, an incident occurred, that "afforded Mr. Fox an opportunity of displaying that character of rectitude and "integrity of principle, which it is the "first duty of every government to adhere "to, and its chief honour to avow. An "unprincipled wretch, pretending to be "just arrived from France with matters of "importance to communicate, obtained admission to Mr. Fox, and after a short "conversation, disclosed to him a plan for "assassinating the ruler of France by fire-"arms, from a house which had been hired "for that purpose at Passy. Shocked at "the atrocity of such a proposal, Mr. Fox "drove the villain from his presence; "giving orders at the same time to send "him out of the kingdom. But not satisfied with this proof of his indignation, "he wrote to M. Talleyrand on the 20th "February, giving him an account of the "whole transaction. The reply of the "French minister, dated 5th March, conveyed to Mr. Fox the thanks of Bonaparte, and an assurance that '*he recognized, in the conduct of Mr. Fox, those principles of honour and virtue by which he had ever been actuated, and which had already given a new character to the war.*' On the "the same day M. Talleyrand transmitted, "in another letter to Mr. Fox, an extract "from a speech of the French ruler to the "legislative body, in which he openly expresses a wish for a termination of hostilities. '*I desire peace* (said he) *with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment; I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens.*" By this correspondence the way was prepared for a "new negotiation, under auspices highly "favourable to a reconciliation between "the two countries."

This is a very fortunate occasion for paying a compliment to the memory of Mr. Fox, and we have no wish to plant a nettle

over the grave of a man who had great abilities and many virtues; but the story of the assassin is one of the most equivocal in the life of Mr. Fox. It has not been ascertained to be true in any of its circumstances; it has been doubted in all, and in some we know it not to be accurate.

Not, however, to dispute about what part may be true, or what may be false, in this relation; it was considered by the country as a pitiable expedient, and one thing is certain: when Mr. Fox said that he could not keep the man long in the kingdom, because of the law respecting aliens, he knew perfectly well, (and Mr. Reeves, who acted under him, knew also perfectly well,) that the assassin, if he was such, could have been kept as long as government chose, either by paying his expences or by a civil action. This was something like Lord Sidmouth's delicacy about suppressing Peltier's Journal, and the Courier de Londres, published by emigrants, because the law would not let them interfere. Much as we may respect the government of the country, we cannot support either the past or the present in such hyprocritical professions; for if any act of an emigrant is obnoxious, the government is at no loss, either to send him out of the country or to keep him in it, just as they think suits their purpose. We know of too many proofs of what we assent to join in the deception, and if Mr. Roscoe is unacquainted with them, we excuse him for his credulity and attributing frankness to Mr. Fox.

To follow Mr. Roscoe through his examination of the negotiations of Lord Yarmouth and Lord Lauderdale, would be a loss of time. It carried upon it, from the beginning, all the marks of a farcical mock negotiation, to divert England and deceive Russia; while those preparations were making that brought on the ruin of of Prussia, the humiliation of the great northern empire, and, in one word, the treaty of Tilsit.

It is not a little singular, though it is very satisfactory, that pages 46, 47, 48, and part of 49, are employed to prove that the French acted more honourably and frankly in the negotiation than Mr. Fox and his agents.

Mr. Roscoe seems in a sad delimma about the honour of Bonaparte, and of Mr. Fox and the underlings on both sides, and either from conviction or affection, he favours the emperor most. If a living dog is better than a dead lion, there can be no room for hesitating between the living emperor of the Continent and the dead orator of the Whig Club.

But let us give the words as they are written.

"From the documents relating to the "negotiation, as laid before parliament, "it undoubtedly appears that the idea of "the *uti possidetis*, being proposed by France "as the basis of the treaty, was rather a "deduction from certain expressions of M. "Talleyrand, than an explicit proposition "of such a basis. In a discussion between "Lord Yarmouth and M. Talleyrand re"specting the occupation of Sicily, which "took place about the 13th of June, the "French minister observes 'You have it, we "'do not demand it from you,' an expression "which Lord Yarmouth, in his letter of "that date to Mr. Fox, considers as equi"valent to the expression, *we demand nothing* "*from you*, and as amounting to *an admission* "*of the* UTI POSSIDETIS, *as applicable to his* "*Majesty's conquests*. On this it is obvious to "remark, that the language of Talleyrand "appears to have applied *only to the Island* "*of Sicily*; whereas the construction of Lord "Yarmouth renders it a general proposi"tion;—and that it is highly improbable "that Talleyrand would have consented "that the *uti possidetis*, which is a principle

" of mutual retention, should be applicable " only *to his Majesty's conquests.* The admis- " sion of this basis was attempted to be " further demonstrated from a passage in " a letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Fox, " of the 1st of April, in which he informs " Mr. Fox *that the Emperor desires nothing that* " *England possesses*; but it must be observed " that this is not proposed as a basis of " the treaty; and that so far from being " considered, at the time, by Mr. Fox in " that light, he has not in his reply on the " 7th of April, once adverted to it; but on " the contrary, has there recognized another " basis, which had originally been proposed " by himself, viz.—*that the peace ought to be* " *honourable to both countries*, to which M. " Talleyrand had proposed to add, *and to* " *respective allies.* On the 2nd of June M. " Talleyrand proposes to establish as a " basis two fundamental principles. 1. *That* " *the two states should have for their object that* " *the peace be honourable to them and their respec-* " *tive allies, and at the same time to secure as far* " *as in their power the future tranquillity of Europe.* " 2. *An acknowledgement, on the part of the two* " *powers, of their mutual right of intervention and* " *guarantee in continental and maritime affairs.* " To this Mr. Fox on the 14th of June " replies—*The* BASIS *offered in your second* " *proposition is exactly conformable to the views of* " *our government*; *provided it be well understood* " *that whilst we mutually* 'acknowledge our re- " 'spective rights of intervention and guarantee " 'with regard to the affairs of Europe, we also " 'mutually agree to abstain from all incroachment " 'upon the greater or lesser states which compose " 'it.' Thus it appears that during all this " period, the principle of *the state of actual* " *possession* had neither been assented to, nor " even proposed, by either of the parties; " but that on the contrary, other principles " had been laid down and solemnly agreed to " as the basis of the treaty. The principle " of the *uti possidetis* was, however, still un- " fortunately insisted on by the British Mi- " nistry, and opposed an invincible barrier " to the negotiation, till new events took " place which entirely frustrated the object " in view."

It appears clearly from this, that there was but little frankness in the conduct of the British negotiators, and still less in the account they afterwards gave of the transaction.

We must now call the attention of our readers, to the very singular assertions in page 53 and 54.

" The result of this negotiation tended " in a striking manner to extinguish, in this " country, the hope, and almost the very " desire of reconciliation. This result was " founded on the character of those who " composed the British Ministry at that " period. Had the same circumstances " taken place under another administra- " tion, it might have been supposed that " the same spirit of hostility which had " given rise to the war, and supported it " for so many years, still prevailed; and " we might have presumed, that a treaty " entered upon in the spirit of peace, by " men less inflamed by passion and less " prejudiced by habit, might prove suc- " cessful; but when a negotiation begun " by Mr. Fox, and the successful result of " which was stated by him, in his last " moments, to be one of the two great ob- " jects for which he was most anxiously " solicitous; when such a negotiation " fails under the conduct of his surviving " coadjutors and friends, who declare to " the country 'that the restoration of " 'the general tranquillity was retarded " 'only by the injustice and ambition of " 'the enemy." All expectation of peace " is abandoned; and nothing appears to " remain for the people, but to unite their " endeavours in accomplishing the destruc- " tion of an implacable foe."

[*To be continued in our next.*]

NEW MODE OF RECRUITING THE ARMY, &c. &c.—*Continued from page* 52.

The plan proposed for the recruiting of the army by giving land, (of which we endeavoured to shew the advantages) is nearly as follows:

There are about 22 millions of acres of waste lands in the kingdom, (that is in England and Scotland,) worth cultivating, and now essential to be cultivated, since it is the fate of England to contend single-handed with Europe in a mass.

According to the rate that waste lands have been improved since the reign of queen Anne, to the present time, it would take three thousand years to enclose and improve those that are worth cultivation! This is a longer period than since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar, when our ancestors were painted and naked savages.

The reason of this slow progress in improving is perfectly evident—Great expence must be incurred and great trouble taken to obtain an act of parliament, and the greatest part of this trouble and expence come before it can be known whether the act will be obtained or not; so that there are in fact great obstacles to the improvement of waste lands, and that accounts for the slowness of the progress.

The commons in the kingdom amount on an average to about 1,660 acres each, and the obtaining possession costs nearly as many pounds.

In commonality, the advantage to the tenant is not above one penny per acre per annum, or for 22,000,000 of acres, £.92,000 a year. The same lands that in commonality have been only worth one penny per year, have in speciality, that is, divided off to individuals and improved, become, in a few years, worth thirty shillings in some cases (see Sir John Sinclair's Agricultural Reports); but let us only put them at ten shillings, then the annual value at the end of the period of enclosing (that is to say, when this plan of recruiting is carried as far as it will go) will be a hundred and twenty times what it is now, or eleven millions for the rent, and thirty-three millions for the produce, which is equivalent to enlarging the island about one-third.

To effect this simply by dividing the commons is not practicable, because money is necessary; and such individuals as it would suit to occupy small lots, have not the capital necessary. If the defenders of the country occupy such lots, the money given to them as a remuneration for their services, will serve as a capital, which is a mode of reward that is attended with numerous advantages, as we have stated, and is not liable to any objection of importance.

Twenty-five acres of land at the end of fifteen years service, is what would be proposed to give, with fifty pounds in money; and as the lands were improved and became valuable, more to be lent by government, on a regular interest of five per cent. reimbursable at will, but the original fifty pounds never to be reimbursed, and not to bear interest.

If this plan were to be adopted, no man of a common class of life could desire, at least he could not expect to see his sons better provided for than if they went to serve his majesty under the age of twenty years, and consequently by the time they arrived at thirty-four or thirty-five, become settled in a freehold of their own.

The language to recruits has always been a little *forced*, both in manner and matter, but if this plan were adopted, they might be addressed in another way.

The following is a supposed address to recruits.

IDEA OF THE HARRANGUE OF A RECRUITING SERGEANT TO THE SURROUNDING CROWD.

"Gentlemen,

"I have the happiness to be amongst

the first on his majesty's service, who ever had it in his power to speak truth, and at the same time prove the advantages of a military career to all the brave young men who wish to acquire glory in their youth, and before they pass the prime of life be possessors of land and money, able to maintain a wife and family, and pass life in peace, affluence, and respectability.

"His most excellent majesty, sensible that no reward in money could ever sufficiently pay the whole of those who protect his throne and their country, has most graciously ordered a plan to be drawn up, by which the brave defenders of their king and country may enjoy those comforts that their merit and services require.

"Now, my brave fellow-subjects, here is no deception. I do no apply to you when intoxicated, to lead you into a snare, but I appeal to your sober senses. Where is the working man at the age of thirty-five who can obtain a free property, a house, and land enough to make him support a wife and children with ease and comfort?

"Here is no palaver, but truth. Examine what I say, and the more you examine, the more you will be convinced of the truth; you will therefore clearly see that you may follow the road to glory, and to ease and affluence at the same time.

"No longer will fathers, mothers, or sweethearts, think the recruit a lost man; no, they will rejoice that he takes the certain means to be able to maintain a family, not of pale, sickly, and diseased children, that are bred in towns, but of healthy, happy, and ruddy boys and girls, the pride and delight of their parents.

"In place of a loathsome garret in some narrow lane, the lot of the industrious mechanic, where disease and care oppress his rising family, you will have your wholesome cottage, your garden, your cows, horses, corn-fields, and every thing necessary for the enjoyment of this life, (under the blessings of God,) and health to yourselves and your children.

"Take time, my brave lads, to consider and reflect; be not in a hurry; but, nevertheless, do not let the occasion pass away. The first enlisted has the first choice, which is always an advantage that will never return. Thus, for once, a life of glory, and a life of prudence are reconciled. Do not come clandestinely, tell your parents and your friends, and ask if they can point out a better line of life than under those conditions, serving your king and country, ending a career of glory with comfortable independence and happiness."

We certainly wish to call the attention of the public, and of every patriotic man in the kingdom, every real friend of his country to this plan. We do not proceed on the idea that it is unexceptionable, and that there may not be some difficulties and disadvantages, but we are convinced they are small in comparison to the good that would arise to this country permit at any time; but in the present crisis, when it has become a subject of debate, whether or not England must trust to other resources than those that arise from commerce, it unquestionably merits the experiment.

In addition to the arguments that are in favour of this plan at any ordinary time, we may give the following.

1. It will enable us to recruit from another class of men, whom high bounties to be spent in riot would never tempt, and, therefore, by enlarging the class from whom recruits can be drawn, it will enable the country to maintain a greater army, if wanted, than could be maintained by the ordinary means.

2. It will furnish employment for those hands and that capital that will leave this country, if trade and commerce should decrease; for men must find trade, and capital

will find employment. Nothing emigrates so speedily as capital when employment for it is wanted.

The history of capital as it has emigrated for the last 1,500 years is curious. The capital of ancient Rome (itself drawn from Carthage, Greece, and Syria) founded Venice, Genoa, and Constantinople. The capitalists of Venice, Genoa, and Alexandria in Egypt, rendered Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Lubeck, and others of the Hans Towns of the North flourishing, and the capitalists of Flanders and Brabant set industry to work in Holland, when it began to decay in the former. We now come to a later period, and find that the capital of the Dutch first gave a spring to English adventure, and now our capital is doing the same thing for the United States of America.

If we do not take care America will, in less than fifty years, get a great proportion of that species of capital, that can be transferred from one country to another; but the mode to prevent that is to employ that capital at home. If we cannot avert the evil, let us retard it in point of time, and diminish it in magnitude as much as we can.

3. By giving us hopes, and shewing our enemies that we have resources yet unexplored, we gain an inappreciable advantage, for on the way of thinking of the parties, depends frequently the event of a contest.

Such are the particular advantages that occur as attached to adopting the plan at this moment, and our wish is to see its merits fairly discussed, that it may be adopted or rejected with a full knowledge of the subject, and an understanding of it in all its bearings. We hope the legislature, the executive government, and the country at large, will pay attention to this important subject.

It may be well to say, that it is now nearly nine months since the plan detailed, and calculated with great care, was sent into the secretary at war for his consideration, and it is about two years since it was first thought of.

London, 27th March, 1808.

HISTORY OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY IN THE SCRIPTURAL STYLE.

And it came to pass, that towards the middle of that century, which was the eighteenth from the birth of the Saviour of mankind, certain philosophers rose up, pretending to instruct all nations, kindreds, and tongues, in the road to happiness and worldly prosperity.

2. And the belief that those philosophers inspired was, that men should have no other god but their own reason; and no other king than the united multitude assembled, whose will should be law, but not like unto the laws of the Medes and the Persians, that could not be altered; but a law which might be altered every day, year, and every hour of the day.

3. Reason for a god, and a multitude for a king, were the great and principal rules by which mankind were to become free, equal, happy, and virtuous. Albeit, there were many secondary rules such as for children to despise and set at nought the authority of their parents. The wife and husband to be no longer connected by any sacred or solid bonds. The marriage bed to be no longer sacred, and love and obedience no longer necessary.

4. Moreover, a contempt for every thing hitherto reckoned holy or venerable, or ancient, was inspired, insomuch that it became a shame and a reproach to those who respected ancient opinions or ancient usages.

5. But though the plan was bold, the execution was difficult, for ordinary men esteemed what the philosophers despised, and therefore the wise men were obliged to conceal their designs, and arrayed their philosophy in the garb of truth, simple in habit, and pointing to happiness and virtue.

6. The words that flowed from her tongue were like those of the harlot of old, celebrated for her snares by the wisest of men and of kings; yea, they were sweet in the mouth; but like the book of the evangelist they were bitter in the belly.

7. In substituting reason for religion, the first step was to propose to make all religions equal. The philosophers knew that where all religions are made equal, there will soon be no religion; but not daring to propose the destruction of religion, they proposed to improve upon it, by general toleration. They laid their bait well, it was swallowed eagerly, and what was intended came to pass—all religion was soon overturned, and human reason usurped the place of the Divinity.

8. But as human reason is governed by human passions, men soon found that to a more impure deity they could not bend the knee—to a worse guide they could not trust—but the time of discovering this truth was too late: and behold, all those who had listened to the voice of the philosophers were sunk in misery and despair: even Reason, their blind guide, disappeared: and the human passions usurped its place; so that behold, in no history of any age, or of any nation, are there to be found written or recorded so many crimes, so much misery, and so terrible a backsliding.

9. And behold the philosophers were amongst the first victims; and the state of the priests and of the nobles, who had been persecuted at first, was in the end much better than that of those who persecuted them: and is it not written in letters of blood, that the philosophers were nearly all slain by those whom they had led astray, that it might be proved unto all men, that in the midst of injustice, the vengeance of heaven overtaketh those who have risen up against the works of righteousness?

10. And moreover, if the whole face of the kingdom was one sheet of paper, it would not be able to contain records of all the crimes and miseries that were committed and felt amongst those who listened to the philosophers.

11. Now, though the philosophers thought to have converted all nations on the earth to their new plans of religion and government, it so happened that one nation only followed their precepts; and though they laboured with all their might, and all their strength, to lead people of other countries into the snare, yet the disguise that had been put on was so soon torn to rags, that before the time was sufficient, the bitter fruits of the error were known to all those who would otherwise have wished to follow the mad example.

12. The once flourishing, the powerful, polished, and happy kingdom of Franconia, was the unfortunate place where the votaries of reason and the disciples of philosophers degraded the human character, and ruined themselves and their posterity.

13. Of all the acts of the rulers who conducted a misled people, those that are most worthy of record, that they may be a warning to all nations, are they not to be found in the annals of the last ten years of the eighteenth century? The words and writings of the philosophers Voltaire, Dalembert, Diderot, Condorset, La Harpe, and thousands of less note and far inferior name, did they not produce the harrangues of Mirabeau (who was a robber and a thief), Barave the cruel, the brothers Charles and Alexander, even the Lameths, the Constitutions of Turgot the avocat, of Sieyes the priest, and of Tom Paine the stay-maker?

14. Moreover, did not the seed sown by he philosophers, when it became ripe, produce daggers, drownings, and guillo-

tines. The acts of Robespierre, of Cuthon, of Collet D'Herbois, Marat, Danton, and the infamous Hebert; men who murdered their virtuous sovereign and his innocent family, and who put to death their fellow-citizens by thousands and tens of thousands: yes, verily, are not those the fruits of the new philosophy, planted about the middle of the eighteenth century, carefully fostered for two score years, and brought to perfection before the end? Let him that hath truth and honour believe: but let him deny the truth who can; for the followers of those doctrines rendered life without dignity, and death without comfort; forasmuch as there is no dignity where arbitary force reigns, and where the will is without power; and there can be no comfort in the belief of an eternal sleep.

COPENHAGEN FLEET AND INVASION OF IRELAND.

AUTHENTIC.

ALTHOUGH it does not come directly within our plan to give information of what is past, yet on some occasions that is necessary, and particular circumstances render it so with respect to the attack on Denmark.

We can state from the authority of a person every way entitled to credit, both from veracity and intelligence, that the seizure, both of the Danish and Portuguese fleets, was determined upon last May; that the Danish and Dutch fleets united, were to have made a landing somewhere on the east coast of England or Scotland, in order to make a serious diversion, while the ships from Brest, Rochfort, Cadiz, Lisbon, and the whole line of coast were to have united, (as well as they could) for the purpose of landing twenty or twenty-four thousand men in Ireland, and as near to Dublin as possible.

Preparations continued for months, and amongst other things, the pilots that have been got from Ireland were all in readiness.

The Irish regiment was also ordered to be ready to march, of which the celebrated Arthur O'Connor was at one time the colonel; but that rebel, (of Maidstone memory,) had carried over to France the same turbulent and factious disposition that made him become a traitor to his sovereign. He was consequently dismissed, and is looked upon with contempt by all his brother refugees, who, though they are enemies to Britain, do not carry matters so far as O'Connor, whose innate malignity and perversity of disposition are now perfectly known and appreciated.

The attack meditated on Copenhagen was known of in France several weeks before it took place; and it was supposed the English ministers, though they had projected, would not be bold enough to execute it, and when it was done with such decision, promptitude, and success, the mortification and rage of Bonaparte were beyond description.

Such French as are well affected to the interests of Bonaparte, speak freely enough about politics amongst themselves; and the person after whom we give this account, had a means of knowing their opinions and conversation. They said that the affair of Copenhagen was very unfortunate, and *que les Anglais a la fin ne paraissent pas si beté*—(that the English at last shewed that they were not such fools as they had been); but that the fate of England was only retarded, and that sooner or later when least expected, the blow would be struck.

In our next, we shall give some very curious anecdotes relative to Bonaparte, and the interior of France; and *we repeat, that we are certain that the above information is correct.*

In all the harbours and arsenals, where

the depth of water admits of constructing ships of war, they labour incessantly, and in particular at Antwerp, where they are building ten vessels of the largest size, that the Scheldt will carry up to that place.

At Paris, Bonaparte employs all the common labourers and people, (who would be dangerous, if they were idle) in buildings to beautify and improve the city. The same set of ragged sans culottes, who erected the scaffold for Lewis XVI. about eighteen years ago, and who then stiled themselves the Nation, are now proud of erecting a scaffold for the mob to mount upon, to survey the splendor of their new master.

Talleyrand Perigord, the former Bishop of Auton, and now Prince Benevento, is as much consulted by Bonaparte as ever; he has two hotels in Paris, one in the Chesie D'Antain, and one in the Fauxburg St. Germain, (which is, as if he had one in Portman-Square, and another near St. James.) There were counted in his court yard seventy carriages at one time, waiting for their masters, who were dining with the prince.

What a change is this, since he was glad to ride on a bundle of hay, in a sorry cart, in America, to dine with a friend! But this is only one of the thousand changes brought on by the revolution!!!

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

Continued from page 50.

To this important article we shall always return, till we have laid before the public all the information that is necessary towards forming an opinion, and we are now about to receive, some very strong facts relative to monopoly, in the years 1800 and 1801.

We shall also soon be able to show how the prices of butter, eggs, poultry, fish and garden stuffs of all sorts, are kept up at a high rate, as well as groceries and fruits from other countries. We already know how this is done, but we wish to come forward with such undeniable proofs, as will command belief.

There are TWO things to be proved. The one is, that *provisions are higher than they used to be*, in proportion to the prices paid to the farmers, or the rents paid by farmers to their landlords.

With respect to the essential article of BREAD, we have proved this in the most complete manner possible, and we shall do the same with other articles.

The second thing to be proved, is, that MONOPOLY by a COMBINATION of individuals, is as practical and real, as MONOPOLY BY PRIVILEGE, granted by any sovereign to an individual, or to a company.

There is indeed a difference of the manner on which MONOPOLIES BY COMBINATION are conducted, and in order to exist, they must be favoured by circumstances, whereas, monopoly by privilege, does not require favourable circumstances.

MONOPOLY by PRIVILEGE may extend to any article that has a value either in use, or a value in exchange, whatever the quantity may be, and whether more or less than is wanted; but monopoly by combination cannot be extended, but to articles of which the quantity produced is not equal to the demand, or where the value is a value in use, and not merely a value in exchange.

PROVISIONS have not for these sixteen or eighteen years past, been in sufficient abundance, so that monopoly has become practicable by combination, and from that arises the dearness of price.

In every department of the provision line the sellers try to obtain high prices, and seem very indifferent as to the quickness of return, and not very anxious as to the extent of their sales; but in every article not

in the provision line, the greatest exertions are made to extend business, and get quick returns. There is a rivalship between the dealers, who shall sell the lowest; the consequence of which is, that whilst provisions have nearly doubled their price, many articles of manufacture, in which no improvements as to abbreviation of labour have been made, are stationary, and some of them are even reduced in price.

It is, we do apprehend, useless to try to establish any theory that is contradicted by actual experience, and nothing can be more certain, than that dealers in provisions find that there is no necessity for taking the same means for procuring business that are resorted to by people in other branches.—The dealers in all other articles (generally speaking) act as if they were the humble servants of the public—those who sell the necessaries of life as if they were the masters.

Though we mean to introduce nothing ludicrous into a very serious and highly important subject, yet we must make ourselves understood—we must dress the truth in a garb that may make it be remembered; and we ask those who are acquainted with London, if they have not remarked the difference between the smooth, sleek, and polished shopkeeper behind his counter, and the bellowing butcher, sharpening his knife, and crying, "What d'ye buy? what d'ye buy?" in an attitude much resembling menace, capable of exciting fear; and at any rate very distant from respect.

Who that sees this, and knows that the outward shew of men is connected with their inward feelings, but must conclude that the relative situations of buyer and seller are quite different in respect to provisions, and articles that are not termed articles of necessity?

From this difference of situation arises a difference of conduct in transactions, not only in the external appearance, but in regard to price, and this has been greatly aided of late years by the great facility and quickness with which intelligence is circulated from one part of the country to another.

Formerly, the farmers at one country town were ignorant of the prices given at twenty or thirty miles distant; and they always knew that if they sold too high, corn would be brought from other parts. Now the price all over England and Scotland is known within a few days, and instead of a mutual jealousy and fear, about a reduction of price, there is a mutual and general effort to keep it up.

There are nevertheless two errors into which the public have been led. The one is, that individual monopolizers sometimes destroy grain, to enhance the price; this never is the case as we shall prove. The other is, that the abundance of bank paper facilitates the operations of the farmers.—This latter is also an error, but it is true, that the abundance of paper facilitates the operations of the dealers and middle men.

We shall in our next return to this important subject, which it is the more important to discuss, as there is a very large proportion of the writers in this country, particularly the reviewers, who are very violent in support of the opinion, that monopoly is like witchcraft, an ideal crime.

The same notions have got amongst the members of both houses of parliament; for as it is thought UNFASHIONABLE to believe in monopoly; and as being out of the fashion in dress implies want of taste, being out of fashion in a matter of this sort implies ignorance, and want of judgment, most people are afraid of joining the standard of free inquiry into the prices of provisions.—Don't meddle with trade—commerce regulates itself best, and such like observations, are considered as answers to every fact that appears in or out of a court of justice, tending to prove the necessity of legislative interference in particular cases.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER I.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. W. PITT, IN THE SHADES—TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GRENVILLE, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY LORD,

AFTER acting in conjunction with your Lordship for a great number of years, and our being particularly satisfied with each other, on every question relative to the principles of the French revolutionists, I confess I did not expect to find you form a strict coalition with those very persons whose conduct had occasioned us so much uneasiness, and even excited, on certain occasions, (against them) no inconsiderable degree of anger and animosity.

The high opinion I entertained of your lordship's honour, induced me, when about to bid adieu to your sublunary world, *to recommend you to the confidence of my sovereign.*

The opinion of a servant who had acted UPRIGHTLY for a very long period, and whose attachment to his Majesty's person and family, and to the welfare of his kingdom, could at no time admit of much suspicion. At the approaching hour of dissolution, when all motives for deception are over, and when sincerity is the practice and consolation *even of the bad*, was relied on with a double degree of confidence; and accordingly served for your introduction to the cabinet, at the head of a new administration.

Were I, my Lord, to dwell on the different acts of you and your associates, of which I disapprove, this would be a longer letter than I wish to write, but on the leading points I will give you my opinion.

The abilities of Mr. Fox as an orator; his power in the House of Commons, and his long habitual promises to the nation, of great reforms and amelioration; on that happy and auspicious day when he should enter into office, made it indispensable to admit him and his party into the new ministry. It was an act of necessity; for the affairs of the nation could not at that time have been conducted, with him at the head of the opposition; but even if it had not been an act of necessity, it would at least have been an act of wisdom, to give a fair trial to the nation that expected, and the man that had for twenty years promised, an amelioration in the order of things.

I was never ignorant of the incontrolable, the impatient, and ambitious character of Mr. Fox; and I therefore find no fault with your lordship's acquiescence in his acts for the few months that he remained an efficient minister.

Of the absurd, ill-planned, and ill-conducted embassy to Paris, and of all share in it, I acquit you; as well as of the appointment of men to offices of power, profit and confidence, whose principles were such that you and I would ten years ago have sent them to Botany Bay. Until the death of Mr. Fox, I rather praise you for forbearance, and pity you for an exertion of acquiescent patience, (that from some parts of your conduct in latter times I could not have expected,) than blame you for assent and co-operation. But after you became the chief member of the cabinet, I cannot excuse your conduct—A conduct not arising any *longer from necessity*, but from *choice*, and at the same time totally inconsistent with, and contrary to those principles I had so long known you to profess.

Were you in my time a hypocrite? or were you a hypocrite at the latter period? or throughout the whole were you void of all principle, and indifferent to the interests of your king and country?

From a decided enemy, (with me,) of all those who excited sedition, a firm, and even rather a violent, supporter of monarchy, you became the *complaisant and intimate associate* of those who had secretly abetted the *treasons* of *O'Connor*; the *riots at Maidstone*, the *meetings* at *Chalk-Farm*. Those who, both from system and practice, had shewn their wish to throw lustre on the French revolution, and dim the fair fame of England!!!

The hauteur, and the pride of the Grenvilles, conformed to the democratic ceremonials of men who had long abused, hated and abhorred, the name of Grenville, and every individual of the family.

Your ambition was gratified, and your love of place, power, and emolument, sweetened the bitter pill; then came out the secret which from me you had carefully concealed, and of which, I confess I was ignorant.

Your true reason for separating from me was, that under the shadow of my wings you had become *too great to play a subordinate part*; and while I was in the council, and honored with the confidence of His Majesty, you knew that a *subordinate part*, or none, must be your portion.

With Mr. Fox you had a better chance—Inferior in abilities, in decision, and in quickness; you had more industry, perseverance, and talents for business. Far inferior in reputation and popularity; you possessed, almost exclusively, in the cabinet, the confidence of His Majesty. So that, on the whole, if you did act a second part, it was but with a small degree of inferiority, and that, attended with the hope of being able, by some fortunate circumstance, to supplant your *rival*; for such was Mr. Fox—He never was your *friend*.

Your perseverance, your astucions, and business character contrasted with the contrary qualities in your opponent, leave little doubt, but that you would have succeeded in a short time in supplanting Mr. Fox entirely, (had a period not been put to his existence, at the end of a few months)—This, indeed, was natural, for Mr. Fox had disappointed all those who looked upon the moment of his entrance into administration, as the commencement of a new and happy era in England. One short summer blasted the promises of a lifetime, and with them the hopes of all those who think that it is as easy to act as it is to find fault, and that there is no difference between profession and performance.

It was after your rival was no more, that it might have been supposed, that a cabinet assuming the credit of possessing all the talents of the country, would have admitted some one of those persons who had shared in the last labours of William Pitt; but, no! against them the door was hermetically shut, and to those who looked on, it might have appeared, that I had, from the time that I differed with your lordship, chosen my coadjutors amongst men that were ignorant, indolent, and unfit to be entrusted with any share in the administration of the affairs of my country.

But though to superficial mortals this might appear to be the case, how was it in reality? Why, if you had admitted one man who had acted with me in my last days, that man might have enjoyed, in some degree, the confidence of the king. This was a participation to be avoided, and of which there was no risque, while you rigourously proscribed those who adhered to my principles, and who in consequence of that, felt some regard for my memory.

To your pride and love of power, not to principle, then, do I attribute your conduct with regard to your coadjutors, for I know that after the death of Mr. Fox, you might

have brought things round to your ancient way of thinking, if you had set a greater value on that than on personal importance, and on the united advantages of being the first in the cabinet, and the first in the confidence of the king.

Things being in this situation, the change taking place so suddenly, and so unexpectedly, look like, what may be termed, a miracle. Those who think it partakes of that character, do not know that so great was your confidence, and that of your colleagues in power, that you had at once the vanity and ignorance, to believe that you could either constrain or deceive the sovereign. To do the latter is at any time difficult—To do the former, where conscience or principle are concerned, I will *aver is impossible.* The Rock of Gibraltar is not more impervious to the winds of Heaven, than the *conscience of his majesty to acts of convenience and truckling commodity.*

When principle and conscience are concerned, HE thinks and acts, not like a man, but like a superior being. When matters of less consideration are at stake, he has the pliancy, that persons, times, and circumstances require ! !

Unfortunately, for the human race, in most men, we find the case quite different; they are *pliable in matters of opinion and conscience, and inflexible in matters of personal interest.* I allude, in this latter case, to no particular person, or set of persons.

Of the plan respecting the Roman Catholics, (as it is termed) I shall say nothing. I should never have introduced it—Mr. FOX would never have introduced it, but men who have not tried their strength, are liable to mistake their power.

You did so, and the nation was saved. An alarm was given, that in many circumstances (to which I shall not make any particular reference) resembled the alarm given to the Romans, when the Gauls were about to take their capitol by surprise. The royal vigilance was awakened, and the consequence is known. THE KING OF ENGLAND SET A GLORIOUS EXAMPLE, on that day, to all those monarchs who make a compromise of principle for temporary advantages. Advantages generally as illusory in enjoyment, as they are disgraceful in attainment, short in duration, and unfortunate in their end.

But, my lord, you did not leave his majesty's cabinet, without doing a very material injury to his power. You and your colleagues had given protection to men, who had signalized themselves for their disaffetion, towards his majesty's government, and thus, by reversing the usual system of rewards and punishments, did you destroy the most effectual means for the counteracting the passions and natural propensities of men.

When ministers change, it is expected that their subordinate adherents will undergo some sort of change also. But in this case Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham were in the cabinet, in higher situations, than they had enjoyed, when the *same men* that were now protected and rewarded, had been considered as dangerous members of society. This was undermining the moral principle of man, and as to his principle of action, it was to it total destruction, and led to that revolutionary conduct that leads its efforts to the idol of the day, without regard to the right or wrong of the question.

On your subsequent conduct, to your too gracious, too indulgent a sovereign, I shall forbear remarks, lest I should give vent to that indignation with which it filled every person who did not view the transaction, through the false medium of party prejudice.

You have now, my lord, found from experience, the consequence of listening to the violent councils of men like Lord Howick. You are *now a fallen man,* you have now neither that dignity of character,

nor that consistency of conduct, that I thought you always would have preserved. You have been the organ of your own disgrace. Humiliation detailed from a man's own lips, becomes doubly humiliating.

Could I ever have believed that the proud Lord Grenville would wait like a bailiff's follower, at the outside of a door, to catch a whisper, while his colleague (Howick), went in to talk in a sort of half pronounced unintelligible innuendo to his sovereign, about a question of high importance? I never could have believed this possible, had not the same proud baron, in the hour of anger and adversity forgot his dignity, so far as to become the historian of this disgraceful and humiliating adventure.

Now, my lord, for the present I have nearly done. As your conduct has not been such as I expected, and as I thought I had good reason to expect. I beg forgiveness of my king and of my country, for what on my dying-bed, I said on your account. May my conduct on that day be a warning to others, and may future ministers, when they advance men too fast, remember the fate of him, who had the misfortune to raise you from a state of insignificance, to consequence and power, without considering that the lightest materials rise the highest, and that men of little merit, have no other bounds to their pretensions, than those assigned by their means of attainment.

Often did I think, that if avarice or abition could be gratified, wealth and honours had been sufficiently accumulated in the family of Grenville; but to fill their famine was as far beyond my power, as their cupidity was beyond my comprehension. My only hope now is, so far as your lordship is concerned, that you will remember those are dangerous times; that the high are debased, and the low exalted, in a manner hitherto without example; and that whatever your private wish may be, your true interest and your safety require that you should, by every means in your power, and consistent with the liberties of the people, support your sovereign.

If you have disappointed *me*, I do not wish *you* to be disappointed. I remember our former friendship, and advise you not to give the last credit to the flattery of your new friends, who have democratic principles—they detest you to a man, and only wait till they have made you their dupe, to shew how they despise you. In the mean time, they want your co-operation and assistance, and when you can no longer be of use, you will be turned out of the band, in a manner as vexatious to yourself, as your ever entering into it was to your former friend,

WILLIAM PITT.

ALEXANDER DAVISON AND THE COALS.

WE wish to see justice done to the public, and as there is great reason to believe, that in the case of Mr. DAVISON, it is not likely to be done by RESTITUTION, we shall assist in making the transaction known, that OPINION may not be misled; for we should think LORD MOIRA and other persons who befriended Mr. DAVISON, after the transaction was reported, did not UNDERSTAND the business. The fact is, the manœuvre by which Mr. Davison acted, in the doubly capacity of AGENT and CONTRACTOR, did not clearly appear till he wrote his VINDICATION, and then he made the business plain enough.

Letter to Alex. Davison, Esq.

RELATIVE TO

HIS OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE THIRD REPORT,

OF THE

Commissioners of Military Enquiry

SIR,

WHEN, in the beginning of last year, the third report of the MILITARY COMMITTEE, relative to your transactions with General Delancy, as Barrack-Master General, was put into my hands, I read it with considerable attention, but I confess I had no clear idea of the rights of the question after the perusal.

I was sorry to find that so much time should have been employed, without producing a result, such as might either clear you, or put government in a way of getting back what might be proved to have been overpaid.

I read the report with a view to ascertain, whether the vague complaints, against an individual, for having defrauded the government, were well or ill-founded; and I confess I was disappointed, that from the confused manner in which the report is made, I could not make up my mind on the subject.

I have now, SIR, to thank you for having done, in the clearest and most decided manner, that which the commissioners, apparently, were unable to do; or what, at least, they did not do. The case is now as clear as possible, and what is still more to the purpose, you, SIR, (the person whose conduct is in question) have yourself furnished the materials. Your way of pleading your cause with your OWN CONSCIENCE, is known from YOUR OWN HAND. It is undeniable. Had another defended you in this way, you might have disavowed what he said, but that is now impossible. The act, and the justification of the act, are the work of the same person. They are the work of Alexander Davidson!

After having shewn in what instances you prove yourself culpable, I shall shew how, by a most simple and fair proceeding, you may ascertain what you in reality ought to pay back to government, for giving you full credit for your declaration; that what you regard much more than gold is a spotless character; you will, with joy and alacrity *restore* what you have *apparently under a mistake*, put into your pocket. Such, Sir, is my confident hope, nay, more, my belief. My wish is, that every man who has (from from whatever cause) put too much of the public money in his purse, had the same means, and equally honourable intentions, in regard to the reparation due to his country.

Let me follow you through your observations.

In page 6, you complain of the proceedings against you, by inquiry and report, as an anomaly in our *legal system*; but this is not the fact. The reports form no part of our legal system, but the right to inquire into every transaction with the public is both a legal and a natural right, and may furnish grounds for legal proceedings. It would be equally proper to call the report of a butler or steward to his master, or the conduct of a servant, a part of our legal system.

As to the greater publicity of the circumstance, in your case, that is merely incidental, and alters not the nature or justice of the transaction. Each report may give rise to legal proceedings; but in itself it makes no part of our legal system. It is a right inherent in every person individually, and in every body politic or corporate, to inquire into transactions of agents entrusted with their interests.

You seem not to make a distinction between punishments inflicted by law after criminality has been proved, and the punishment an innocent man undergoes in the very act of trial, while proving his innocence. Every one laments, that to be accused, or even suspected, is a severe punishment to an innocent man; but it is not a *legal punishment*, it is INCIDENTAL and UNAVOIDABLE. The nature of things orders it to be so, and you therefore labour under a mistake as to the report being either an *anomaly* or a *part* of the *legal system*.

In page 7, you say you were "compelled to submit," &c.

Now, to what, my dear Davison, do you SUBMIT?

Do you call keeping your place of banker to the ordnance, after it was publicly announced that you had, through modesty, resigned SUBMISSION? Do you call the writing a pamphlet, accusing the commissioners (which I now have under review) SUBMISSION? You and I do not use the same dictionary I am afraid; for as I understand the word *submission*, I see nothing resembling it in your conduct and behaviour.

Instead of meekness of submission, you raise high your haughty head, and hiss like a serpent. You become the accuser of those men who were employed by your master to examine your accounts; and you even think that the examination itself was an injury, as if you had a right to act without control, and without submitting to that sort of inquiry, which is but fair in all matters of account.

In page 29, you give a quotation or extract from the report, greatly in your favour, with respect to your manner of supplying the barracks with a variety of articles. This is well—it is in your favour, and you have intended to avail yourself of it, but unfortunately, in using this weapon of defence, you have seized on a two-edged sword—a sword that cuts two ways; for you have, by that extract, proved the candour of those commissioners whom, in another place, you accuse of malignity and injustice. How unfortunate you are here! The testimony in your favour operates but partially. It proves you were not to blame in part of your conduct; but it proves, at the same time, that your commissioners were candid fair men; and this proof is a general proof, it applies to their whole conduct, inasmuch as it proves the fair intention of acquitting you, when you appeared to deserve it; and even going so far as to give you some degree of praise.

After this, your accusation of malignity must fall to the ground. After this, their Report deserves credit for impartiality. The very wording of the Report shews that they did not mean to extend blame beyond its proper bounds.

In page 26, alluding to your obligation to furnish certificates of the fairness of prices, if *required* so to do, you set great value on the words if required. Every one that reads your observations will be apt, in like manner, to set great value on those words. Had your regard for character been as you say in another place, greater than your regard for gold, here you had an opportunity of shewing it: you would not then have *required* that a barrack-master's *requisition* should be *requisite*, in order to shew that you had acted fairly. This fact needs no further commentary.

I am delighted, my dear Davison, with your observation, introduced something like an interlude on the stage, or an episode in a romance, in page 33. The stile of self-complacency and mental approbation of a dealer in black diamonds, in the dead of winter, could not be more delicious.—Let me quote your words.

You allow the possibility of error. *Humanum est errare ergo*, say you, I am therefore a man in so few, as I admit I may have

erred, which men often do." You add that though others might have been better qualified to serve the public, none could have been more disposed to serve them honourably. It is your modesty that introduces the observation about being qualified, though it implies, or seems to imply, that though the spirit was willing, yet the flesh was weak. Now, Sir, I shall not interfere in the battle between the flesh and the spirit of Mr. Davison, it is like a quarrel between man and wife, the parties are too nearly connected, and as a thirdsman I never yet had my head broke. One observation I only shall indulge. It would have been a good qualification for the public if you had known enough of business, to see that summer was a better season for laying in a stock of coals than winter; for had you known only what every ordinary housekeeper knows, you would not have had coals to buy in December and January.

But I beg your pardon for saying coals to *buy*, you were a SELLER in those months, and had very prudently purchased the same in the proper season.

In your complimentary language to yourself, (but printed *for* the use of the public), you are peculiarly guarded. There is much circumlocution, and more wished to be believed than is ventured to be asserted. In this, as well as your bargain with General Delancy, you have been unusually guarded. You avoid a positive declaration, that the public has been honourably served. You avoid even saying directly that there was a real disposition to serve them honourably; but you say in a way *vague*, circuitous, and unmeaning, that the public *should be assured* of the honourable intention.

To my plain way of thinking in this case, Sir, it would have been the best way for you to have assured the public, instead of the jesuitical expression that the public *should be assured*.

You have omitted, I know not why, your very expensive, extensive and confused establishment of depots of coals, proposed to General Delancy, and it is certainly in favor of the general's penetration, that he did not fall into the snare. I call it a snare, because it is inconceivable, that so complicated a plan could be the produce of error. A plan so little subject to control, and for that reason, so productive of suspicion and liable to general expences. The poor General was frightened at the depots, just as the French magistrates were at the brigands, with whom they were threatened by Mirabeau, at the beginning of the revolution.

Under the influence of fear, people make strange bargains. It was clearly under that influence excited by your letter, that the second bargain was made, in which you was no longer to act as agent in furnishing coals, but as principal, and as a contractor on your own account.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

MOCK SALE SHOPS.

Continued from page 56.

IN our last we mentioned the evils, and even the villainy, attendant on the strange sort of sale-shops lately opened in various parts of London; but the evil is greater than it has been made appear.

Instead of a temporary and partial evil, that inconveniences the honest shopkeeper at the present time, it is a permanent injury to the manufacturers of the country.

By taking methods to sell articles of an inferior and base quality, manufacturers are encouraged to GET UP such goods, (as it is termed); and all who know the history of the manufactures of this country, must have heard of the injury done to its trade by that.

Birmingham, in particular, has lost a great many foreign markets, by lowering too much the quality of the goods, without any regard either to credit or permanent prosperity.

At one time, the Russian army was

clothed from Yorkshire (above sixty years ago); but a manufacturer, through his avarice, stretched the cloth on the hooks too much, so that it afterwards shrunk; and a few regiments that were reviewed on a very wet day, found their clothes shrunk so, that though they got them on easily in the morning, they could not get them off without cutting up the arms and entirely destroying them in the afternoon.

By this unprincipled avarice we lost the supply of the Russian army, and Russia now manufactures coarse cloths for herself.

Axes and edge tools that have been sent to America, have been found to be so bad, that a hatchet clumsily made in that country by a common blacksmith, will sell for three times the price of one sent from Birmingham or Sheffield.

(To be continued)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

On looking over the the letters from the Old Politicans in the *Shades*, to the Young *Politicians* in the Sun-Shine, we find that in the letter from the Great Duke of Marlborough, to the Duke of York, there are many observations to the same purport, with those by an *old officer* communicated; and as to others, we have observed that some abuses will always prevail in a great administration, and that, therefore we do not consider their existence, as a reason for bringing them all forward.

We are induced to postpone, the anecdotes of *Baron De Rolle* and *Hompesch*, at the request of a gentleman of honour, and through the pressure of other matters more important, but not more amusing, and indeed we never would amuse the public at the expence of individuals, unless the individuals, by their conduct laid themselves open, to our doing it with truth, justice and propriety. Those men with *long whiskers*, those *terrible fire-eaters*, who seem to wish to frighten John Bull, on the pavement of London, those *draweansirs* (before whom the mild, modest race, that *conquered at Manda*, are but as grasshoppers) ought to have sufficient sense to know, that we only consider them as a species of *harlequins*, and therefore as we have long *paid* them, it is fair to make them *skip* a little for our amusement. Something more serious than skipping and harlequinades, however may be in time expected. The *foster father* of the late unfortunate *Dauphin* of *France*, Monseur L——, who is *gone* and *still return* to this country, can tell something that will make a certain great man look blue.

We are induced to suspend what we intended, relative to that energetic officer Sir Home Popham, on account of several circumstances communicated relative to the *voyage* to *India*, *Mr. Charvoc* of *Ostend*, and the money paid by this government to the baronet. The whole is too important, to be rashly laid before the public, though it is important also to set the matter in its true light.

SCRUTATOR, need not be uneasy, about our continuing what we promised, but as to time, such promises are not like the government bills given to *army contractors*, payable to a minute. The fact is, so many objects pass, that our aim is to give a general outline, in the ameliorations and manner of effecting them at first, and wait for entering into details, till the subject in question is about to be brought on, as in the case of the East India company. We told where the radical error lies, and we shall tell how to remove it by and bye.

Printed by W. Glindon, Rupert street, Haymarket. and published by R. Field, 9, Newcastle-street, Strand, AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

No. 5.

Printed by W. GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published by R. FIELD, Newcastle-Street, Strand,

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

COMPRISING

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS.
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

AMERICAN TRADE AND ORDERS OF COUNCIL.

THE public seems to mistake this subject, the merchants look too close to their own interest, and parliament appears to be at a loss what to do. Ministers are apparently very anxious to do the best, and, as is frequently the case when a great deal is at stake, over anxiety shakes firmness. We shall then endeavour to throw some light on the business, for the general benefit of the country.

Those who paint gloomy pictures of the trade with America, and couple our loss, with the orders in council, make two mistakes.

The first mistake is, in supposing that America will become a great Manufactoring country, on account of any temporary interruption of trade. (We mean in this case to give the latitude of six or seven years to the word temporary.)

The exertions that the Americans make to establish manufactures, when the ports are free, in time of peace, are in favour of such as from their nature suit the country, and upon a fair competition obtain a preference. Such manufactures are for the good of the country, and are *permanent*, and the success of those who undertake them, may give the people of the United States a disposition to manufacture rather more than it is strictly the interest of the country at large, that they should do.

In case of manufactures rising up sudden-

RECRUITING THE ARMY.

Continued from page 66.

We have already devoted great attention to this subject, but it is so important that we must return to it.

The expence of the new mode proposed is an object of consideration, and therefore it will be necessary to shew, that the mode we propose will not increase the burthens already born by the country.

In the present way, (if we are rightly informed) the recruiting service costs about £17 a man, and if we take desertion into the question, it must not be reckoned at less than £20.

The difference between a boon held out in reversion, and money paid at the time of enlisting, is to be looked upon in two ways.

In the circumstance of the reward coming AFTER, it is clear that desertion will be avoided, whereas when it comes BEFORE, there are numerous inducements to men of no principle to enlist, and afterwards desert.

Twenty-five acres of land, and £50 in money, at the end of fifteen years, taking in the chance of death, does not amount to more than about £13 paid down now.

The conditions we should wish to propose are, that, if the soldier dies before the end of ten years, the business is finished, but if after ten years, then at the expiration of fifteen years, his natural heirs are to be entitled to the land and the money.

If the soldier is killed or dies on foreign service, then the money and land to go to his heirs, at whatever time the accident may have happened.

A corporal, to have thirty-five acres and £70 in money, and a sergeant, forty acres, with £80 in money, and in all the cases more money to be advanced if wanted, on mortgage at five per cent. interest, so that the brave man will in all cases have the means of improving his property, to the utmost extent.

Comparison of the present mode and that proposed, supposing ten thousand men raised yearly, reckoning 2l. per man extra expence.

	Present way.		*By the new mode.*
1809	200,000	....	20,000
1810	200,000	....	20,000
1811	200,000	....	20,000
1812	200,000	....	20,000
1813	200,000	....	20,000
1814	200,000	....	20,000
1815	200,000	....	20,000
1816	200,000	....	20,000
1817	200,000	....	20,000
1818	200,000	....	20,000
1819	200,000	....	20,000
1820	200,000	....	20,000
1821	200,000	....	20,000
1822	200,000	....	20,000
1823	200,000	....	20,000
	£3,000,000		£300,000

But the sum of £300,000 a year at compound interest, is eight millions, and the sum of £20,000 a year is only equal to £800,000; so that at the end of fifteen years the nation will be in cash £7,200,000, the interest of which is £360,000 a year; and as the enlisting money will still be wanted, we must from that time count £560,000 a year.

	By the old method the expence will be	6000	*By the new method, soldiers at 50l. per diem*
In 1824	560,000	....	250,000
1825	560,000	....	250,000
1826	560,000	....	250,000
1827	560,000	....	250,000
1828	560,000	....	250,000
1829	560,000	....	250,000
1830	560,000	....	250,000
1831	560,000	....	250,000
1832	560,000	....	250,000
1833	560,000	....	250,000
	£5,640,000		£2,500,000

So that in twenty-five years, this nation will have saved something more than one

half of the expence, and the procrastinated sums being always set off against the ready money, the advantage will be progressive. As a matter merely of finance, this mode of recruiting the army is best; but then again comes into view the saving of all the pensions to men that have served, and when we take that into account, the advantage will be much more than doubled.

Let us now again consider, how much the revenue and the country will gain, by five thousand families living by industry, being established every year, after the end of fifteen years, and the sum total will be so great, that to state it on paper, *though true, would look like exaggeration.*

It is one of the characteristics of a good plan, that the more you examine it, the better it will be found; whereas a project that is only superficial, when examined closely, vanishes into smoke, its imperfections appear, and what at first seemed admirable, becomes in every respect a sort of burlesque. We invite all those who wish to see that their country is not led into error, by specious project, to examine this plan in the most scrutinizing way, that if it has any faults, they may be discovered and made known.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

LEWIS XVIII. AND THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

We have delayed the information relative to the present King of France, (as he is termed) Lewis XVIII. not wishing to break the bruised reed; but really his people that surround him, have lately acted in such a manner, as takes away the feelings that greatness in misfortune naturally inspires. Insolence and injustice we do accuse them of; they most haughtily refuse any sort of compromise, with some very sacred debts of honor, due to persons whose necessities are great, and whose claims are undeniable. The French princes and their people live in great luxury, but they are PROTECTED by the Alien Bill, and they are mean enough to take advantage. They are not like Lord Ogelby—"It is a debt of honour and it must be paid."—The British nobleman, though indigent, only considered his honor, not his means.—The French Prince considers neither means nor honour, for he has means, but ****.

The character of Monsieur, (now Lewis XVIII.) in Paris—his conduct to his creditors there—the circumstance relative to Monsieur De B——s—his giving some drafts on his banker, *to be presented after he left the country*—and a general detail of his transactions, we did intend for this number; but have not room; however, we expect, and hope that government will not settle any money on Lewis, without providing for payment, in part at least, of his *just debts*, and we shall give ample reason in our next.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Perceval, is a man of high honour and of strict principle, and he is strongly attached to men who he thinks of that description. Mr. Perceval's political creed is a good one, and his detestation of democracy we know to be great.

Lewis XVIII. seems alike the victim of jacobinism and of Bonaparte, but let it be known that some of the persons nearest him consider the French democrats "unimpeachable in honour." Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Beersheba, that **** did say, with great emphasis lately—"L'honneur Francais, Monsieur, vous ne pourriez pas le toucher ni en aristocrate ni en DEMOCRATE—Non, Monsieur, ni vous ni tout l'Angleterre, je vous defie." In English thus—"French honour! No, Sir, that is without a spot, either in aristocrats or DEMOCRATS—No, Sir, I

"defy you and all England to find a "blemish there ! ! !"

The Corresponding Society would scarcely have gone so far; Sir Francis Burdett would not say so much; yet the man who did say so, drinks Burgundy and Champaign every day at the expence of the people of England. We do not wish to excite discontent, but, positively, we know a man, with his wife and eight children, reduced to sleep on straw, from an execution for the king's taxes, for a less sum than this same advocate of democratic honour pitches away at tennis, in five minutes, or drinks away with his friends in an afternoon.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

LETTERS

From Old Politicians

IN THE SHADES,

To Young Politicians

IN THE SUN-SHINE,

In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER II.

FROM WILLIAM EARL OF CHATHAM, IN THE SHADES—TO THE PRESENT CABINET, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I terminated my mortal career, you were totally unknown, but some of you assisted, in a most able manner, my favourite son.

Your conduct would not be entirely indifferent to me for that reason, but the great object of my wishes, even after death, is the honour, glory, and prosperity of England; of the British Empire, of that country that is my country still.

I am highly pleased with the efficient and successful activity you display. A continuance of an administration, that looked partly with fear, and partly with admiration, at the despot of the Continent, as your immediate predecessors did, would in a short time have ruined England. But you need not despair, if its affairs are managed with prudence. The country has wonderful resources and amazing energies, but nothing is without a limit, a measure, and certain bounds. Take care how you oppress it, or exert it too far. Be not prodigal of those means that are intended for the best of purposes—for insuring not only the happiness of Britain, but of all mankind.

France has always been, and always will be, the enemy of England, whether a Bourbon or a Bonaparte sits on the throne of that country; but you ought not to be alarmed at the present power of France, or at the desperate means adopted to overcome the British empire; for those two circumstances will render the present order of things, and of consequence the present efforts, of very *short duration*.

Nothing that is violent or unnatural can last long, and what is more so, than that one man should not only rule the whole Continent of Europe, but rule it with a degree of rigour, a severe species of coercion, that no single province almost ever submitted to under any other man at any other period?

The fall of Europe, (for certainly it is fallen), may be chiefly attributed to the want of confidence of the sovereigns in each other, to their mutual jealousies, and to a general opinion that had gone forth, both amongst the soldiers and the people of all ranks, that a change of matters would not be injurious to mankind, and therefore ought not to be strenuously resisted; or, at least, that to resist a change, was not so important as to merit any very great exertion.

On the other hand, the French, who had all the energy attendant on a new order of things, made their attack on the antique establishment, around, with a violence difficult to resist, particularly when aided by intrigue and a variety of means, which that country is more capable of employing than any other.

The success of the French on the Continent of Europe, is not at all a matter of surprise, it was the natural consequence of the relative situations of the countries. But the continuance of the order of things, that for the present exists, and that has been brought about so recently, would, indeed, be very surprising, and the more so, that the disposition of the man, who is at the head of continental affairs, is of a nature rather to push further, than to mitigate the rigours he has established.

The great question now is peace or war; to this I shall first speak—

If you make peace, what do you prepare for England?—At the end of ten years, and, perhaps, in less time, that empire, now in an agony, and a crisis that cannot last, will be consolidated; and the fleets that will be fitted out from Denmark to the Dardanelles, will be all under one controul.—They will be more numerous than any that England can possibly maintain, and with them, England will most certainly soon have to contend.

By making peace with the Continent, all the nations that now feel the weight of Bonaparte's sceptre will be relieved, in taxation and commercial connections will be restored. In short, peace with England will give stability to that colossal power that is now perishable, and must soon perish, if the war lasts.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, this is not all—The contamination of French manners, the importation of French principles, will make Britain inhale a poison, that the power of moral medicine never will be able to eradicate.

Your insular situation; your difference of language, and natural dissimilarity of character, have proved strong safeguards; but even that treble line of fortifications has not entirely prevented the enemy from making an entry. ——Britain is not exactly what it was in my days, and I am certain the change is for the worse.

I grant there is an increase of knowledge, that the arts are improved, and that wealth has accumulated; but does the national character stand so high in regard to right rules and purity of manners as great as they were? Are your people so well satisfied with their situation, and equally attached to their religion and government? I fear they are not; but if, when shut out from the communication with France this has happened, how much worse would it have been had the connection been open between the two countries, and how rapidly will the evil increase if the connection is now opened by a peace?

I may be asked, then, if I mean to have perpetual war? To this, my Lords and Gentlemen, I answer no. For when the present superiority of France, over the other nations of the Continent shall have ceased, the danger to England will be over. Perhaps, this requires to be explained, and as it is not my custom to be obscure, and as I speak to be understood, I shall explain the business.

Whilst France remains as she is, the ruler of the Continent, the eclat of her conquests, her means of sending over emissaries to England to live in splendour, and to spread corruption, will be great; and as the ruin of England will be her object, every effort will be made. Such will be the case during a peace made with France, in her *present power and greatness*; but if France falls, as she probably will, all those dangers will be at an end. She will then be a country rather despised than envied, and she neither will have the means nor the

will to corrupt or seduce the people of England.

Formerly individuals went to France, and the follies they imported were great enough, but they were only follies or trivial vices, when compared to the manners of modern France. Honour, at least, made a part of French character in my time, but now what we call, and what I hope Englishmen still call by that name, is exchanged for its direct opposite. To delude and to betray in every way possible, that advances the end in view, is now a matter of glory and exultation to the French of every class.

The contamination from French principles, while France aims at preserving a sway over Europe, will be deadly, and may Heaven protect my country from such a danger!

If, on the contrary, you persist in war, what will be the case? The French are now making the last effort to conquer, but it is the effort of desperate men. If peace was made at this time, your enemies would think, that the *anti-commercial system* they have adopted, had compelled you to the conclusion of it, but if you hold out, they will certainly see that they have not yet discovered the means of subduing the proud, the independent, the happy inhabitants, of the British Isles.

My lords and gentlemen, I see many very serious dangers, that must attend a peace at this moment, which will put the whole Continent at its ease; a peace too, that will be attended nearly with all the expences of a war establishment; whereas in a short continuance of war, the effects of coersion, must be productive of changes on the Continent favourable to Great Britain.

Political events on the Continent, succeed each other, with a rapidity beyond example, and therefore the time for a change, cannot be at a great distance. The tide has hitherto set in against England, but still she has resisted its force. How will it be (and be it must) when mankind feel that to end their sufferings, they must have recourse to exertion, and throw off a yoke that would have disgraced the most ignorant nation; during the dark ages that succeeded the fall of the Roman empire.

But, my lords and gentlemen, if is not from without that England has reason to fear, or serious danger to apprehend, as it is to the industry, invention, and skill of its inhabitants that it owes its wealth; and to their bravery, public spirit, and love of liberty, it owes its independence, so if it is ruined it must be by their want of union, their want of patriotism, their want of virtue, and their discontent.

It is to you, my lords and gentlemen, who are the ministers of the executive power, that the nation must look for the prevention of those dangers. It is to you that it is to look for the continuance of those blessings, and that proud superiority that it has so long maintained. Do your duty, and depend upon the nation, but treat it as so admirable, so spirited, and so loyal a people deserve, and you will merit and obtain the blessings of your cotemporaries and of posterity.

CHATHAM.

LETTER III.

FROM ADMIRAL BYNG, IN THE SHADES—TO GENERAL WHITELOCKE, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

SIR,

You are my greatest benefactor. To you I owe a double obligation.

In conducting yourself so much worse than I did, you make my fault appear trivial: for there is a gradation in misconduct that was never properly understood, till General Whitelock arrived on the plains of Plata, in South America.

I was put to death—for what? Why, for a crime that deserved death. I put personal feelings in competition with my duty to my king, and the interests of my country.

I was not, indeed, a coward, neither was I accused of wanting judgment, but I committed one crime, for which I very properly suffered death; and though I feel that I deserved it, I think it likely enough that those who see your mild sentence will think me a murdered man. It is not so; I was not murdered; for the man who is entrusted with the interests of his country, and does not do his duty, deserves the fate that befel me.

I was in ill humour with another admiral, and, to gratify my own feelings, sacrificed my country. I confess that no punishment could be too severe for a man who acted in that manner, and, therefore, I shall not complain; but though I never shall be satisfied with myself, I owe you the obligation of turning the opinion of my country in my favour, and rendering my memory less obnoxious.

My trial was conducted differently from yours, for though little was urged against me, I made a very able defence—You acted otherwise—a great deal was brought against you, and you scarcely made any defence.

It would seem, either that you thought defence impossible or unnecessary—It is for you to answer, but certainly the cause of your conduct was *not* explained, and the conduct itself was *not* vindicated for.

Your saying, that on your arrival in Europe, you were SURPRISED to find you were blamed by the public, greatly SURPRISES me. How could you expect it to be otherwise? Did you not leave England boasting that you had more men than were necessary to execute what you were intended to perform? When did you know Englishmen were not SURPRISED when they were beat? Never, I believe; and your surprise on that occasion, either was not real, or it must have proceeded from ignorance.

I greatly admire your putting a construction on his majesty's orders to treat the people of the country kindly, into an excuse for not forcing the possession of Buenos Ayres. You should surely have known that it was after you had got possession, that you were to treat them kindly—before you did get possession you could treat them neither well nor ill.

As to treating them kindly at the moment of attack, that is the most singular conceit that ever entered into the brain of mortal man, but even in that conceit you are inconsistent, for the lenity in attacking an enemy consists in the terms offered being lenient. Yours were severe. The magistrates and rulers were set against you by your terms. Had you followed the instructions of his majesty, they might very probable have been in your favour.

You are a perfect Proteus, my dear general, (for you are dear to me, having rescued my memory from disgrace, by getting deeper in). With your officers you were austere. During the whole of your life, since you rose to power by matrimonial connection, you were austere, inflexible, and like a bar of steel, but all at once, marching up to the enemy at Buenos Ayres, a fit of humanity takes you so violently, that you forget your interest, your duty, and every thing, but saving the good people of Buenos Ayres.

This FIT OF PAROXYISM of HUMANITY, might naturally enough lead you into an error, as it was the FIRST of the sort you ever had, but you should give a true account of the transaction, rather than give a wrong interpretation to his majesty's orders, which did in no way signify that you was to spare the enemy in the heat of battle.

I again acknowledge my obligation to you, which is the greater, that the names of the numerous English heroes that have

flourished since my unfortunate fate, have been my chief torment.

The Hawkes, Rodneys, Howes, St. Vincents, Duncans; but above all, the ADMIRABLE NELSON, have given as much pain to me in the shades, as ever they did to their enemies in the sun-shine.

When you come below, the ghosts of the British heroes who have conquered in every quarter of the world, will torment you, as they have long tormented your obliged, undeserving friend, but not admirer,

Shades, April 5, 1808. GEORGE BYNG.

P. S. We shall, when you come here, be obliged to keep each other company. The GREAT GHOSTS flit by with an insulting silence, and never speak to me.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

IT is very unfortunate for the country at large, and for Ireland in particular, that there are persons who interfere (under the pretext of obtaining what they very improperly, and very incorrectly, call EMANCIPATION for the Roman Catholics) in a manner that inflames the minds of people, creates discontent, and retards the real prosperity of the country.

EMANCIPATION!! The very word implies *a previous state of slavery*. It carries with it in this case a false meaning; for whatever the grievances of the Roman Catholics may be, they have no analogy to SLAVERY. The persons who first used the word Emancipation in this case, were by no means ignorant of its misapplication, but it has been done with an intention that is not very difficult to divine, and by no means deserving of praise.

The great aim of reformers seems to be to obtain speculative advantages, that have no connection with the peace, welfare, and happiness of mankind; whereas practical ameliorations, of which the advantages can be known, and such as are unattended with risque, that may not be calculated. When a risque cannot be calculated, then there is great imprudence and great danger, for the extent of the danger is unknown.

We do not wish to enter into all that might be said as to the Roman Catholic question, for enough has been spoken and written on the subject, though not much to the purpose; we shall, therefore, in treating this subject, rather speak of the erroneous way which others have treated it, than examine it completely ourselves.

Many things may be done for the advantage of the Irish peasantry, and the general benefit of the country, and some alterations about tithes might be made, with great advantage, and without risque; but as to the rights intended to be claimed, they would be of no real utility, but might be dangerous; and from the authority of Mr. Grattan, we know they would not be productive of satisfaction, for he declared a *full* equality with the established church would alone satisfy them.

If, then, we are to give credit to Mr. Grattan, (and he certainly is entitled to it) the question is merely this—shall the Catholics and Protestants of all descriptions be put on a footing with the established Church? We would always wish to be liberal in our way of thinking, and certainly have no desire, that any persons should be oppressed on account of religious opinions; but as to equality, there is in the first place one objection—*it is impossible*.

The established clergy, are paid not from the pockets of individuals, but from that of the public, and to produce equality, all the others must be so too, and in every parish, there must be as many clergymen as there are people of different religious tenets, or if not, those who have not a

clergyman in their own way, might complain.

It would be amusing enough to see an *Episcopal*, a *Roman Catholic*, a *Presbyterian*, *Whitefieldite*, *Anabaptist*, *Swedenbergian*, and about fifty more *clergy*, all in the same parish, and paid at the public expence. We say it would be amusing to look at, but very inconvenient to bear; yet this is the tendency of giving religious equality, unless we take the business by the other end, and abolish the present church establishment, which we humbly apprehend, nobody would desire after the fatal example of France, in which Bonaparte (though he has in Egypt boasted of being a Mahometan and probably is not a strict adherent of any religion), has found it necessary to have an established religion, under the special protection of the state.

TOLERATION is, in fact, all that can be extended to more than one church in one country, (and in Ireland there is no want of that) and toleration ought to be extended to all.

But, say the Catholics, there are some places that we cannot occupy. This they may wish to make appear like persecution, but it is no such thing.

Every government, like every body, corporate or individual, has a right (and it is one founded on the nature of things) to limit the giving employment, or taking into pay persons of a certain description. This is not persecution nor injustice, it is the exertion of a natural right. There is the same difference between it and persecution, as there is between robbing a man and refusing him with a gift; the one is optional, the other is unjust.

There are moral as well as physical disqualifications. A ROGUE is not fit to be cashier of a bank, nor a DWARF to be taken into the Life Guards, or an IDIOT into any service; and there is no oppression and no injustice in excluding them, though it would be unjust to take property forcibly either from the rogue, the dwarf, or the idiot.

To take a man's bread from him, or to refuse to give him bread, are two very different things; and if either a government, or a company, or an individual, are deprived of excluding from their service, such persons as will not suit it, then right and reason are violated in a terrible way.

It has been often asked, that as Roman Catholics serve in the army and navy, in a variety of capacities, why should not they be admitted in all? to which the answer is very easy—

Moral and physical disqualifications we have mentioned. Now, where a person acts under the directions of another, the same thing that would disqualify him, if he were in very high office, or a member of council, or a minister of state, does not disqualify him; and all this is so evident, that we shall not insist farther upon it; but the question to which we must give an answer is, whether being a Roman Catholic is a moral disqualification?

This we shall discuss in our next; but we must at present say, that if the Roman Catholics could occupy every place in the state, it would not be any advantage to the country at large, unless it is expected that when they got in they would make great alterations.

We insist strongly on this—what is it to the Roman Catholics, who boast of being two millions in number, that they are excluded from a dozen or two places? It can be no object, unless they think, that if they once got into those places, like the Greeks who got into Troy, in the wooden horse, they would become the masters.

The insignificance of the advantage, and the great value put upon it, do not well agree, and therefore something essentially more is meant than meets the ear.

{*To be continued.*}

ADVANTAGES OF ANTICIPATION, ILLUSTRATED, BY AN EXTRAORDINARY FACT.

We insert the following as we have received it, after, however, going to the person referred to, in order to ascertain the truth of its being communicated to him 13 years ago.—We are convinced of the truth, and by calling at our office, any person may have the proper reference.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I AM much pleased with the title of your paper, for in politics ANTICIPATION IS EVERY thing, retrospect comparatively little.

I am now going to state to you a fact, which will shew what mighty effect the advice of an obscure individual, if listened to, would have had at the beginning of what is termed the FRENCH REVOLUTION, but what, in my opinion, might more properly be stiled the REVOLUTION OF THE WORLD.

In the month of May, 1789, when the discontent of the French nation, the intrigues of courtiers and, the astucious and ostentatious Monsieur Neckar had induced LEWIS XVI. to assemble the STATES GENERAL, I was in Paris.

I am an Englishman, and, therefore, looked upon things a little differently from the French, and I considered the circumstances and the consequences likely to arise.

I was well connected—I had received favours from the King of France—I was personally attached to the BARON DE BRETEUIL (an honest, blunt, and able minister)—I therefore wished to be of use.

I foresaw the downfal of the Bourbons and wished to prevent that.

At that time the assembly consisted of three hundred *nobles*, three hundred *clergy*, and six hundred of the *tiers etat*, or commoners; making twelve hundred.

The former assemblies of the states-general consisted of an equal number of each, and from the change in the form, I concluded that innovation was the object of those who gave it this new organization.

Impressed with this belief, I wrote a memorial to the following effect, which I delivered to the Duc de Chatelet, with whom I had got acquainted some time before, owing to his being administrator of the Duc de Choiseul, to whom most part of the houses that surrounded the comedie Italien belonged, on the Boulevard de Richelieu.

The Duke was then colonel of the French guards (having succeeded the Mareshal Duc de Biron). He was attached to the royal family: and the government of Paris, in a military way, was particularly under his care.

My plan was as follows:

There are twelve hundred deputies assembled, all actuated by ambition, and the most part of them poor and indigent. Bribery can alone prevent them from making themselves masters of France, which they will do, by getting public opinion in their favour, and then exciting revolt.

The manner to secure the twelve hundred, or at least a steady majority, I consider thus:

	£
Men already attached to government, 200 .. expence	000,000
Men of talents and ambition 40, to be had at a million each	40,000,000
Men of no talent, but embarrassed, 300, at 200,000 livres each	60,000,000
Three hundred indigent men at 50,000 livres	15,000,000
	£ 115,000,000

This sum is something less than five millions sterling, and the Duc du Chatelet, before he fell a victim, allowed that if the advice had been taken, it would have *saved his master's life and his own.*

I added to this memorial, that there were above fifteen thousand workmen in Paris out of employment, and that they would be made the instruments. (All people of wealth looking on with fear, had suspended building and purchasing furniture or making purchases) I therefore advised employing them in finishing the public works that were begun, particularly on the bridges, (the Pont des-Marchands and others,) on which there had been houses that were half pulled down, and then in ruins.

Instead of listening to my Anticipation, the Duc du Chatelet, who was at Versailles, sent me word that if I would wait on him, he would hear what I had to say!!!

What did I do, think you, Mr. Editor? I pitied the duke and his master, and staid at home. I was not willing to go as a petitioner, where I was doing a service.

The world knows now, that in one month, more money is spent in consequence of the revolution, than all that I proposed to expend, and what is still worse, this monthly expence continues without any prospect of remedying the evil, which has been done.

Now, Sir, if this is not an evidence of the advantage of Anticipation, I know not what is, and enclosed you have the address of a person who will be credited, when he is heard, and who has known the whole these twelve or thirteen years.

I have but a few observations to make on this subject. If those in power would appreciate the advantage of ideas given, *before* the consequences of events take place, they might do a great deal better for themselves than they do now. What is the use of looking backward? Looking at the present moment, if you look no farther, only enables the pressing difficulty to be put off. It is but a sort of procastination; but to prevent evil is the great advantage.

If I had been a man that enjoyed the sufferings of those who had acted wrong, I had an ample field in the future sufferings of the Duc du Chatelet.

The regiment of French Guards, of which he was colonel, revolted in six weeks, and some of the mutinous soldiers headed the mob in attacking the Bastile, on the 14th day of July, in the same year.

The unemployed workmen became the Sans Culottes, and the orators of the groups who surrounded the assembly for two years, and at last stormed the Royal Palace, on the 21st of June, 1792, and in the month of August led their king to a prison, from which he never departed but to mount a scaffold.

What I say is historical; here is no romance, but truth; and Bonaparte now acts upon the system of ANTICIPATION. Whilst others are thinking of what has been, and what is, he thinks of what IS TO COME, and by that means, he has subjected the Continent of Europe. ANTICIPATION is the lever of Archimedes; with it you may move the world. Bonaparte was in a garret thirteen years ago, he is now in a palace, and what is more, the inhabitants of all the palaces on the Continent of Europe (Sweden excepted) obey his will.

I will not fatigue you with more fact, or with more reasoning, let your readers reflect, and they will appreciate the advantage of Anticipation.

The old French government was one under which the people lived very happily; but the importance of preserving public opinion was not understood, and if it had been, all that the philosophers (as you call them) did would not have ever turned the throne.

Wishing well to your paper, from which I anticipate both amusement and instruction, and which displays more originality, and contains more variety than all the papers in London, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient Servant,
And constant reader,
W—— P——.

London, 5th of April, 1808.

THE LAW OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR.

For a long period complaints have been made about the bad management of the law in this respect, which, in fact, is more founded on PRECEDENT than on STATUTE; and though this law, as it is considered, is contrary to that of most other nations, ancient or modern, yet, such is the prejudice of the law lords, and of the country in general, that neither HUMANITY, JUSTICE, COMMON-SENSE, nor ACTUAL EXPERIENCE, can prevent them from considering the commercial prosperity of this country, as being intimately connected with the law of debtor and creditor; and, therefore, it is imagined, that if any alteration were made it would injure the country.

We have said, contrary to HUMANITY. Certainly it is not very humane to allow a man to be shut up for life, because he, at one time, had the imprudence or misfortune to owe a sum above forty shillings; yet, the law of England, the unmitigated, uncontroled law of England, admits of this. To say that it seldom takes place, is only saying, that by individual humanity, by accident, or stratagem, the evil is avoided; but that is not any proof of the goodness or humanity of law; and it is certain, that in cases where the law does not actually keep a man in *prison* for a trifling debt, it keeps him (according to a familiar phrase) *in hot water*, that is, in difficulty and distress through the whole of his life, and there is much inhumanity in that.

The next thing we have said is, that it is contrary to JUSTICE. And what can be more so, than the bare possibility of inflicting a more severe punishment on a man for misfortune, than for crime. To be shut up in a prison for a life-time, when one two or two years is thought sufficient punishment for some very serious offences, is certainly against JUSTICE.

With respect to unlimited imprisonment for debt being contrary to COMMON SENSE, it is so in the highest degree. For who can expect a man, that has no property nor any means of earning property, to pay his debt by remaining in a jail; and for a creditor to keep a man of such a description in confinement, is directly contrary to reason and common sense.

Last of all, the law practice is condemned by EXPERIENCE. Those who imprison poor men seldom ever get payment; and the rich who have property, though rather embarrassed, live in luxury and laugh at their creditors.

Again, as it has been supposed, that to alter the law, might injure commerce, we beg leave to state, that since commerce has increased, the necessity of altering the law has increased also.

Every Insolvent Bill that passes, is a proof of the imperfection of the law. It is the interference of the legislature to correct the faults of its own work. This we believe will scarcely be denied, neither can it be denied, that of late years the necessity for this sort of corrective interference has greatly augmented, or at least if it is not augmented, it has become more evident, for now there are such bills very frequently, and till within these last fifteen years they occurred very seldom. It is during the same period that the commerce of the country, has increased the most rapidly, therefore it would be fair to conclude, that the rigorous laws respecting

debtors, so far from being favourable to commerce *is unfriendly* to it, since it is found necessary to suspend the regular course and operation of the law, more frequently of late years.

The Earl of Moira deserves great praise, for his indefatigable attention to this subject, but it is very unfortunate that more pains have not been taken, and greater skill employed in proposing an amelioration of a permanent nature, and upon solid grounds.

Surely the law lords in the Upper House, and those able barristers who are amongst the Commons, will not refuse to lend their aid; but the matter is so simple and easy, that not to do it, appears to be a difficulty of the sort often referred to, of an hundred men breaking an egg. We know that one man can break an egg, (though we never exactly saw the experiment tried by an hundred stout fellows) we shall therefore try, if we cannot shew upon what plan, according to the law of nature, combined with expediency, and the interests of a commercial people, the amelioration might be safely attempted.

THE SUBJECT DIVIDES ITSELF INTO THREE HEADS.

1st. *The mode of suing or arresting.*

2nd. *The manner of proceeding to recovery when arrested.*

3rd. *The manner of terminating the business, when there are no means of recovery.*

1st. In a commercial nation, promptitude is necessary, and we do not join with those who are against arrests, even in the first instance, but then the person who arrests another ought not to be allowed to do it on his simple affidavit, he ought to bring two persons to prove that they know him; for, as it is now, a blackguard, or a thief, or a man about to leave the country, may arrest the most respectable tradesman in London, and put him to great inconvenience and expence, without ever being punished.

We remember an instance, of one Gray, a bricklayer, in Marylebone (in the year 1783, or 84) arresting in one day all the builders and other tradesmen with whom he had open accounts, not for the balances due on his books, but for the whole amount of work done. The number of persons so arrested was seventeen; and Gray, who arrested them, embarked for America before the arrests were issued.

John Douglas, a stone-mason, in Portland road, was one of those arrested, for about £. 20. He found, on examining his books, the balance was only £. 3 10s. but finding Gray was off, and that an attorney had bought the debt, he was advised to pay, to avoid farther expence. The others were nearly all in the same way.

In 1792, a French nobleman of high rank, was arrested in London, at the suit of a stable-helper, to whom he did not owe a sixpence, and before he could procure bail, real detainers were lodged to a very great amount. Part was arranged and part bailed, but nothing could equal the injustice of the transaction.

It is not in arresting, but in the manner of arresting, that consists the hardship, and there could be no inconveniency arise from regulating it in the way we propose; for men who are not known, or have no property, have no right to arrest merely upon their oath.

In the case of bills of exchange, promissory notes, bonds, or other debts, the reality and existence of which appears from any document of an authentic nature, it would not be necessary to produce persons known to be of respectability, for the document would be sufficient proof.

(We shall proceed to the second point in our next.)

Letter to Alex. Davison, Esq.

RELATIVE TO

HIS OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE THIRD REPORT,

OF THE

Commissioners of Military Enquiry

Continued from page 79.

THE first article stipulating for a regular supply, and the fourth article, for the most advantageous season, might have been adhered to by the most simple and fair understanding between the parties. Every thing would then have been settled with ease and economy, though you are pleased, Sir, to insinuate what you have not the effrontery to assert; namely—That the obligation of delivery, at the most advantageous season, depended on the caprice of the Barrack Masters; you seem to have forgot that the requisition of the Barrack Master, necessary to the delivery of articles, by the first agreement, in which you acted as an agent on commission, had given way, and was rendered null, by the fourth article of the second agreement.

It would in this case, I think, better suit your ingenuity to prove, that as your loose worded agreement (made, apparently, with great negligence, at the end of long and mature consideration) did not explain whether the most advantageous season was to apply to the buyer or the seller, and that as the winter was the most advantageous season for *you*, you had a right to construe it in your favor—a right do I say?—It was a duty—Alexander Davison on one side, and John Bull on the other, was it to be the question of a moment—Justice leans to the side of weakness—of poverty—John Bull is richer than any individual, yes, even than Alexander Davison, Esq. it was therefore fair and proper, to construe the most advantageous time, into the time most advantageous for the contractor, a poor single individual, and not in favour of a great nation like England.

As this was the fair construction of a loosely expressed article, you consequently, sir, did perfectly right no doubt, in delivering the coals when the price was very high; and I realy think the commissioners were highly blameable, in testifying either surprise or displeasure, at so proper a mode of serving the public. It is evident after this, that your tone, not merely of an innocent man, but of an injured one, is very fair, and very natural. You have assumed, what the French call an imposing attitude; (a menacing attitude perhaps it might be in English) and I think for the future, your commissioners will do well to act with great caution and circumspection.

I come now to the third article, still more loosely worded than any other, and here I think, the construction in your favour was far from right. May I be allowed to say, that to bargain wholesale, and to pocket retail prices, was a complete imposition? As you are a man of high honour, (I speak from your own authority,) and of great regard for character, I am surprised you did not examine this transaction a little more minutely, to prevent your being suspected, of intentionally receiving thirty per cent. more than your due.

As the time of singing the approved song of "To Handle the Coal's the Fun," is now over, and as you have assumed a graver mood, telling us "that gold is trash;"—but that "a good name is the treasure of your soul," I shall just explain the error into which the naughty Barrack-office has led you, like Millwood, when she led Barnwell to rob his master. So have they led the honest Contractor to rob his country.

The price paid by the inhabitants was to be the rule. Now, sir, there are different descriptions of inhabitants, and they pay different prices.——Those unfortunate inhabitants who purchase coals by the bushel, peck, and half peck, cannot be entirely unknown to you; for in electioneering business, with which you have had some connections, they are called *Pot-wablers*, a title tolerably significant, though not of a very profound etymology, nor elegant sound.

Those *Pot-wablers* generally pay about 30 *per Cent.* or one third nearly higher price, than persons who purchase their coals in large quantities. Now be it known to all those whom it may concern, and to John Bull in particular, that the difference between the price paid for coals by the rich man, who purchase them by the coomb, in the dog-days, and the poor *Pot-wablers*, who buys them by the bushel, in the dead of winter, is very great, yet that both are the prices paid by the inhabitants.

I shall endeavour to explain this point in mathematical terms. The prices are nearly in the inverse proportion of the wealth and poverty of the purchasers. The poor man pays like a prince, that is, in ready money and at a high price, the rich man takes long credit, and pays no more than is strictly fair.

Now it is to be observed, the great profits that must have been *inadvertently* paid into your hands, are not to be discovered by the single rule of three, but by the double rule. The matter in question is to be stated thus:

How much dearer are coals sold by the bushel to the inhabitants retail than wholesale by the coomb? —— Answer, about 30 *per Cent.*

Then, again, how much dearer are coals in December than in August?—Answer, no fixed rule. Sometimes near double; but, on a fair average, about 50 *per Cent.* Thus, then, what would cost £.100 by the coomb, in summer, would cost £.180 by the bushel in winter, on a very moderate calculation.

When I get a little farther on, it will easily be seen how this error was made unintentionally; for, you have said, sir, that the coals were sold by the bushel, otherwise the receipts and deliveries would not have corresponded. Now as you say this, I am bound to believe you, the consequence of which is, that I conclude, there was no person in the Barrack department that could multiply or divide, or even add up an account; it is therefore clear they could not find out the means of working the double rule of three, to discover the immense difference in the price of coals to different classes of inhabitants, at different periods.

Permit me, Sir, next to make a few remarks on General Delancy's attack on the commissioners, from which we learn, that he did not act from ignorance in contracting by the bushel. This we believe; but he says, "the commissioners did not choose "to examine him, because they thought, "without explanation, the charge might "have the effect they wished," &c.

Now I must be allowed to say, we grant General Delancy full credit, when he says he was not ignorant, but not so when he decidedly, and without proof, accuses the reporters with wrong and unfair wishes and intentions. Though he did *not* act through ignorance, it is not clear that they did not act from ignorance; and I cannot admit the general to be the keeper of their consciences, or to accuse them of being malignant, vindictive, and unjust. I should be inclined to dispute that accusation at all events as unsupported; but when it is considered, Sir, that the only thing you have firmly established, is, that the same commissioners gave you praise when it appeared to them to be due, I dare not, (though supported by the assertion of a general officer) accuse the commissioners of malice propense, or unfair intentions.

Hitherto, Sir, I have only had to canvass your ill-advised and uncandid observations; but now comes a serious attempt to give to

an act of a very suspicious nature, the appearance of a fair transaction.

I allude to the measurement by the bushel, and the season of delivery, both so disadvantageous to the public, so advantageous for you, and so contrary to common sense and common justice.

You say that you delivered the coals by the bushel, for if not so delivered, the receipts and issues would not correspond!! This is a singular assertion indeed, in a country so distinguished for commercial transactions, and for its accuracy in matters of finance!!! This in a country where in every chandler's shop, every cobler, and every master of a coal-shed, buys by the gross, and sells in retail, without ever finding any difficulty in making the receipts and issues correspond!!! Will you tell us, there are not paper or stationary or clerks' wages charged in our public accounts? or will you tell us, that the government selects men to superintend the expenditure, who do not know simple addition? Enough, however, of so unblushingly impudent an assertion, even though you put the words in the mouth of a general officer.

As to the season of delivery, "what (you ask) had you to do with that?" The fourth article of the second agreement says, indeed, "that I am to deliver the coals at the most "advantageous season;" but then the original contract, signed long before, says "I am to supply the barracks according to "orders received." Now, Sir, you know well, that this original contract was entirely done away as to coals; or if not done away, you still acted as agent on two and a half per cent. commission.

You certainly do not mean to say, that you are to preserve a part of the first agreement, and a part of the second, just as it suits your interest: yet such is the bent of your argument, and a more unfair one never did exist.

The fact is, that by the fourth article of the second agreement, you had bound yourself to lay in the coals at the most advantageous season, that is, the cheapest, as far as an intelligent man could judge. But what did you do in place of that? You bought coals with the money of government at advantageous seasons, but abstained from delivering them until you got a requisition or order to deliver them, which, as it turned out, was generally at a very disadvantageous season.

This was the manner of managing, or of mismanaging the business, call it which you please, and the result was great loss to the public, and enormous gain to Alexander Davison.

You have said, Sir, that government has nothing to do with what you paid for the coals, and it would have been so if you had adhered to the second agreement, and not reverted to the first, wherever it was to your advantage to do so; in which case, you would have purchased coals with your own money, and delivered them at the most advantageous season: neither of which did you do. The price at which you bought them did very naturally become a question; for between the two agreements, supposing even you are at liberty to take your choice, (which is as much as can be granted) still it is absolutely necessary that you should make your election, and abide by one of them. Unfortunately for yourself, by using the money of government, you was, in fact, only an agent, and therefore you ought to be paid according to the price at which you purchased, allowing the commission of two and a half per cent. For if there were ever so great a desire to let you take the benefit of the second agreement, you having used the public money as an agent renders that impossible.

You act unfairly with the public, when you treat it as if composed of ignorance or folly: for speaking of the public, (or of the great majority) it is neither composed of

foolish nor of ignorant men; therefore your remarks in the form of observations, are calculated to injure your cause. The commissioners drove the nail in, and by attempting to drive it back again, you have rivetted it fast. There is no remedy for you now, but to try to keep the money you say you despise, for you cannot preserve the character you prize so high.

Having waded through the absurdities that a man naturally falls into when he attempts an impossibility, we have only to sum up the whole, from which it very clearly appears, that in the general business for supplying the barracks, you, Mr. Davison, acted as an agent, on a moderate commission of two and a half per cent.; and that nothing in the Report tends to shew that you acted unfairly, but several facts testify the contrary. We are, however, not to pass over the almost constant want of the proper vouchers, some how or another, omitted to be demanded and delivered.

The accusation about having government bills on your hand was evidently absurd. As an agent, you must have funds to proceed with; and this only proves that the commissioners did not see where the *peccant part* lay; if they had, the Report would have reduced the coal merchant to a cinder; yea, even unto ashes and to mere dust.

As a coal contractor, the bargain was loosely made, unfairly construed, and villainously executed. It was carried on with the money of government, and you, Mr. Davison, claim the benefit of the original agreement in regard to deliveries, and the second agreement with regard to prices, the only fair way, and the only one by which government can get back the money, is by adhering to the first agreement entirely, and making you act as agent, and not as contractor, granting you two and a half per cent. on the coals you delivered. This could not be called injustice, at least it is not so great a deviation from what is right, as the allowing you to take the benefit of both agreements, which you did, and avow by your pamphlet, in a way that it is now too late for you to contradict.

Before I quit this subject, Sir, I must observe, that you have been singularly unfortunate, according to your own account. Despising gold, that object of adoration to many, who are seldom blessed with its touch, you have found it adhere to you like as a corrosive acid does to an impure metal. Not even Danaæ, in days of old, was so tormented with a golden shower, to which, (like you,) her character fell a sacrifice. While this dirt that you despise sticks to you so closely; the character which you esteem above every earthly possession has rudely been assailed; and, to complete your misfortune, the deepest wound has been inflicted by yourself. No man could be more unfortunate. That gold which you despise has fixed itself upon you as the poisoned skin on the body of Hercules; while the objects you adore, your character and your good name, have been wounded by the commissioners, and murdered by yourself.

I am persuaded that you have been ill-advised; for your exultation at the end—your character painted as if by yourself, is badly done. The public see no likeness in it, and it never will be acknowledged as a good picture, either in the colouring, or in the outline. Had you said with modesty, that you had endeavoured to gain wealth fairly; that circumstances put you above the necessity, or even the temptation to commit a fraud on government, and that you set a value on character that would have prevented you from doing what you could not stand forward and avow, much might have been said in your favour; but when you with a grave face tell us, "that to avoid censure has not been your object, but that

168033

it has uniformly been to obtain praise," do you expect that you can be listened to without a bitter smile. But when you appeal to the shades of PITT and NELSON, in proud and exulting language to prove, that you had gone beyond the limits of duty, there is a degree of anger mixes with the contempt. What a pretty expression!! We have heard of the limits of right, but never of duty!—Not even the honoured shades of those great men, though conjured up in your cause, will avail. We recollect, and we know, that they were honest men, and as such, they were not the best judges of your transactions.

Avarice, you say, you believe, makes no part of your character, but you do not tell us on what grounds your belief is founded; that is a great misfortune, because the public is entirely ignorant of it, and likely to remain so.

[*To be continued.*]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE *Baron de Roll* has made an application, as we said in our last number, from a respectable quarter; but, from the moment he thought that the interest was sufficient, the applicant ceased. He was certainly a respectable English gentleman, but the matter is simply this. The *Baron* may see till Wednesday next, by calling at our office, what is to be said against him; if he can refute it, we shall be the first to vindicate him publicly, but must limit the time.

The *Baron* seems like one of those horses who are willing to trot when a fiery whip of hay is under their tails, but to stop the moment they think the flame abating.

A. B. C. is right enough about what he says of the Ordnance Department, and the treatment of the clerks at a certain period, certainly not under the Duke of Richmond (perhaps his Antipode) but under Lord Cornwallis, nor the brother of the Great William Pitt, but some time between this and the year 1330, when gunpowder was invented or discovered. Previous to that time, bows and arrows were in fashion, and wise or wiley men had more than one string to their bow; and it is in imitation of them, perhaps, that some old fashioned gunpowder gentlemen still like two bow strings. As this is an old custom not known to A. B. C. we shall reflect before we publish his remarks, as we can neither replace those dismissed, nor dismiss those that were placed.

Bow, wow, wow, is too much of the style of *Peter Porcupine*, alias *Peter Cobbett*. There is no merit in cutting a man's throat with a razor when his hands are tied, and we will not assist in such an operation.—This formidable man should also know that any fishwoman can, by Billingsgate language, attract attention; (but setting aside obscenity and abuse) it requires talents to obtain notice.

The letter respecting the conduct of reviewers is UNDER REVIEW, and shall be published.

The interior of the mock sale-shops in our next; but we must give the public some time to digest what we have said in such plain terms; namely, that to encourage such shops is to become a sort of receivers of stolen goods. The law of nature is against stealing, but not against receiving; that is only the regulation of men. In the present state of things, we are inclined to consider the purchasers at such shops more blameable than their makers.

Printed by W. Glinden, Rupert-street, Haymarket, and published by R. Field, 9, Newcastle-street, Strand, AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N . 6.

The King and the Country.

Printed by W. GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published by R. FIELD, Newcastle-Street, Strand,

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

WE have already repeatedly said, that until other European powers have some participation of the territory in India, England neither will be secure there nor quiet at home.

Firmness in a government is a most admirable quality, but then the occasion on which it is exerted is to come into consideration.

The Romans were the firmest and most inflexible people in the world; they never yielded to force, yet, when their empire was found to be too extensive, they, in a voluntary manner, diminished it, by abandoning all that part of Asia, that was on the left bank of the river Euphrates, and by withdrawing their troops from the Island of Britain.

The desire of conquest had led these warriors to extend it too far, and Britain has done something of the same sort in India. We have possession of a vast extent of territory, maintained at the perpetual expence of blood and treasure, for it occasions and a constant call for men from this try.

It is probable, that one quarter of the national debt might very fairly be set down to the account of India, and this is not balanced by any advantage in any degree proportioned to it.

There are a number of individuals enriched; and Mr. Dundas, in 1792, estimated the fortunes accumulated every year at one million. As they were gradually increasing, and amount to more now, but were less previous to that time, a million a year may be a tolerable fair average, and counting it from the year 1760, it would now make £48,000,000,

But this money has come into the pockets of individuals, and it is a great question whether more harm than good has not been done by it; but supposing it to have done good to the full amount of the money, (which we only suppose for the sake of argument, but by no means admit) still the gain would be much inferior to the loss.

In stating the fourth part of the national debt to be attributable to India, we are not to reckon simply a fourth part of what actually exists, but to that we must add, a fourth part of all that has been paid off, and of all the interest that has been paid, which will make the expence that India has brought on this nation, to be four or five times greater than the money remitted home.

But it may be said we gain a great deal by the sale of our manufactured goods in India, that however is not the case; the exports to India are very insignificant either in quality or value, so much so, that the freight out (per ton,) is not equal to one quarter of the freight home, which is a proof that the ships are not nearly loaded. We mean this as a proof, that will convince those persons, who do not give credit to the Custom-House books.

In reality, not above one twentieth part of our exports is to India, and nearly one sixth of our imports, is from thence, so that the balance is greatly against this nation for the time past.

When we were anticipating troubles from our possessions in India, we did not suppose, (as now appears) that they were already begun. The intrigues of the French are secretly the cause of that, and never will it be otherwise; we, therefore, do think it a subject highly deserving the attention of government to determine the question, whether or not it would be better to change the system in India? If we do not soon do so voluntarily, we may very likely be compelled in a few years to do it by force, and that would be unfortunate, for if we give any thing up voluntarily, we may keep the remainder with safety and ease, but if we are compelled by force to yield up any part, then we shall hold the remainder by a very precarious tenure indeed.

The affairs of India must in time to come be considered in a very different way from what they have been, and in our last we mentioned a story of Doctor Franklin, foreseeing that our driving the French from Canada, and becoming exclusive and sole possessors ourselves, would be followed by our being driven from that Continent.

A good deal may possibly be done by our managing differently in governing the people, but nothing will do the business effectually, while we have such a great extent of territory, and no other European power has any at all, and if we continue to rule the seas, it is probable enough that we might let other powers participate without any danger.

The following may be considered as being very nearly the situation of Indian commerce.

The whole imports from the East Indies, from 1700 to the present day, have only amounted to £165,000,000, and our exports during the same period, to £83,000,000, while our total exports have amounted to £1,486,000,000 during the same period.

Comparison between the total foreign trade of the country, and that with the East Indies only, for 104 years.

	Total Exports.
From 1700 to 1760,	£ 540,000,000
1760 to 1785,	370,000,000
1785 to 1805,	576,000,000
	£ 1,486,000.000

	Total balance in our favor.
From 1700 to 1760,	£ 249,000,000
1760 to 1785,	101,000,000
1785 to 1705,	142,000,000
	£ 492,000,000

	Exports to India.
From 1700 to 1760,	£ 18,000,000
1760 to 1785,	25,000,000
1785 to 1805,	40,000,000
	£ 83,000,000

There would be much affectation, and little accuracy, in attempting to make any thing like a strict comparison between the relative proportions of the wealth procured by general trade, and that procured by trade with India.

The exports amount to about one nineteenth part of the whole; and, perhaps, as they are manufactured goods, to about one tenth part of the whole manufactures of the country exported: but the manufactures exported are not equal to one-third part of those consumed at home, so that not above one thirtieth part of our manufactures are maintained by the trade with India.

In 1793, when the charter of the company was renewed, the India budget stated the private fortunes acquired and brought home, at one million annually; that has probably increased since then, but it was at that time greater than it had been before: if, then, we take the annual arrival since the year 1760, at one million, it will make forty eight millions, which, compared with the balance of trade during that period, amounts to about one-sixth part of the balance supposed to come into the country.

How much of our national debt might be set down to the account of India, is another question. By debt contracted, and interest of debt paid, during the same period, we have disbursed the sum of £. 1,100,000,000, which is equal to more than twelve times the whole of the property acquired by our India affairs, supposing the £. 45,000,000, remitted to be all gain, together with one half of the £. 83,000,000, which surely is allowing the gain at the highest rate for both.

Supposing then, that the wars that India has occasioned have cost (or the proportion of the debt they have occasioned) one fourth part of the whole of our debt, and that the profits on goods to India, and private fortunes, came into the public treasury, there would still have been a great loss to the state; but this has not been the case; the interest of the debt has been levied on the people, and will continue to be so till all is paid off; which, according to the plan of the sinking fund, will be in thirty-five years, so that we shall have about £. 750,000,000. more to pay, supposing we have peace all that time, and continue to possess India.

There is something very gloomy in the view of our national affairs, and yet there is no apparent method of making it more pleasing.

On the possessions in India, and the complicated manner in which our imports (again exported) affect the nation, a volume might be written, but it would be of very little purpose, and would not suit a publication of this sort. It is sufficient to shew here, that the wealth obtained by that channel is not of great magnitude, in comparison either of the wealth acquired by foreign trade, or by our industry at home; and that, at the same time, we see that it excites more envy and jealousy than all the rest of the advantages we enjoy put together.

[*To be continued.*]

DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.

THIS important subject is now about to be soon agitated, and we hope that it will be taken into consideration, whether the new mode proposed for recruiting the army, by giving waste lands, could not be made conducive to the defence of the country?

Our opinion is, that it is extremely well calculated to facilitate that important object even at the present moment, and that at a future period the advantage will be greater still.

We can only touch on this subject at present, and indeed we think it is not necessary to do more, as the plan, with its advantages relative to the recruiting of the army, has been very completely laid before ministers and the public.

We are certain that the advantages held up by us, as to be expected, cannot be denied; though perhaps we may, in some respects, be too sanguine; but we recommend the trial of raising one regiment in that way, when the effect will be seen; and, at all events, as we never proposed to interrupt or to suspend the operation of the present manner of recruiting, the trial could be attended neither with expence, danger, nor inconveniency; and when, on the one hand, there is no possibility of loss, though on the other there may be of advantage, the experiment ought, in prudence and wisdom, to be made; and that this is the case with the new plan proposed for recruiting the army, we are certain nobody will be found hardy enough to deny.

[*To be continued.*]

LETTERS

From Old Politicians

IN THE SHADES,

To Young Politicians

IN THE SUN-SHINE,

In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER IV.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE, IN THE SHADES—TO THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

SIR,

IN you I have often delighted to recognise the scholar, and the gentleman, blended in a peculiar degree. Your wit, your eccentricity, your knowledge of science and philosophy, but above all, your attachment to principle, and your loyalty, when the cannibals of France, and the jacobins of England, combined to overturn our excellent constitution, and to hurl the throne and the altar into one abyss, delighted me.—To the heroism and frankness of the age of chivalry, you added the urbanity and learning of modern times, and if you did partake of enthusiasm, it was that laudable and pious enthusiasm, that the cause of true honour, religion and virtue, inspire into the minds of honourable men.

Such was, in my delighted imagination, Mr. Windham, when I quitted the scenes of mortality; but, alas! since then how changed from him!! How are the mighty fallen! The chaste wit has adopted the manners of a buffoon. The expert logician has become a quibbling sophist. The friend of order and government converts the most serious matters into a subject of laughter and ridicule.

The same gentleman who sighed over the impending evil, now laughs at the ruin of the Continent; and the permanent and real triumph of revolutionary principles is to him matter of merriment!

How can we account for this?

It is only to the intelligence of the Omnipotent that the springs of men's actions are fully known; but still, without being liable to the charge of seeking to develope causes that are hid mysteriously in order to be concealed, we may endeavour to discover by what means this great change has been effected.

As weeds and fruits grow most luxuriously on a rich soil, so do the opposite feelings originate often in the same passions.

Disappointment changes the ambitious man, and the consciousness of good intention, the desire of being esteemed, lay him open to the insinuating effects of flattery.—Analyzing your character and comparing it with your conduct, and with circumstances that have come to my knowledge, I lay the fault to your head not to your heart, and from the disappointment of your ardent views, I can trace your present indifference for the fate of your own country, and of Europe.

What surprises me the most, is your connection with a man who has no claim to consistency, and who obtained your protection by maintaining doctrines, the very opposite of those he promulgates now—I mean *Mr. Cobbett*.

That man (who is far from destitute of natural abilities) obtained your patronage by writing in support of the British government, and of monarchy. He has totally changed, and writes now very like *Marat*, *Camille de Moulins*, *Brissot* and *Gorsas*, those fire brands of the French in the beginning of the revolution: and, strange to tell, he has dragged you, his master, in his train.

'Tis strange, 'tis pity, pity 'tis 'tis strange.

I shall not, sir, descend to the unfortunate and lamentable particulars, but certainly the similarity of your attacks on the volunteers, with those of Mr. Cobbett, cannot have gone unnoticed, and is not to be denied; and it gives me pain to find that Mr. Windham was reduced to the shame of explaining, and extenuating the harshness of his expressions, as applied to *brave* and *honourable* men, who had, with a most admirable activity and zeal, volunteered to rise in defence of their country.

In vain did you exert your wit, your eloquence, and your sophistry, to explain away your expressions, and to heal the deep wounds that they had made; your expressions were too remarkable, and your sarcasms too servere, to be forgotten and forgiven by the indignant and injured men, whom you had exerted your powers to ridicule, powers which would have been well exerted in their honor and their praise.

Can it have escaped your ready penetration and keen remark, that the man who accompanied you with his periodical abuse of those you chose to ridicule, was a *treble-titled turn-coat*. A man whose fame had been raised by his extravagant adulation of the British laws and constitution, and who had now founded his fortune on the exertion of his talents, for a purpose directly contrary.

The supporter of a Paull, and the echo and slave of a Burdett, to be the friend, the favourite, and the Aid de Camp of the Right Honourable William Windham, when minister at war, and at the head of the British force!! This is one of the moral miracles of latter times. One of the inconceivable contradictions of the lower world, and a cause of lamentation to all honourable and honest men.

Much may be excused for the feelings of friends, much for the animosities of opposite parties, but this was too much; it can neither be explained, palliated, nor forgiven.

Comistency, sir, in thinking, may always be maintained; in action I confess it is not always equally practicable, but the Mr. Windham, who was so active to preserve the British Institutions, such as they were when assailed by the jacobins of France, in the end of the eighteenth century, should have been equally disposed, if not equally able, to defend them against the enregimented slaves of the Gallic usurper, in the beginning of the nineteenth.

I believe human powers were unequal to the task of foreseeing, or predicting the vast and formidable change operated by the energies of France, the imbecility and fears of her opponents, and the astonishing abilities of one man. I amongst others, during my mortal career, was mistaken; I thought Britain had indeed a terrible, but an evanescent storm to resist, but now the danger has changed its form and character, without diminution in its magnitude, or in its efficient means of exertion.

That energy, that spirit of plunder, that disregard for moral duties and moral rights, which struck us with horror, in the form of democratical and *irregular attacks* on every thing attached to order, or derived from antiquity, is now metamorphosed into a *regular system*, permanent in its nature, and uniform in its operation; in itself and to its adherents, less destructive I allow, but to all those who value liberty, property, or whatever is estimable in the moral or the physical world, far more formidable and frightful.

Ordinary men may not see the danger that awaits the world; but you, my ancient friend, are not an ordinary man. No, Sir, whether Mr. Windham is right or whether he is wrong, he is not an ordinary man.—His mind may be extravagantly led to excess: but whether sad and serious, or witty and gay, it carries marks that will and must distinguish it from the common class of men.

The errors of such a man are doubly to be deplored, for they are doubly dangerous.

It is not for me now to speak of futurity; in that I am restricted; but I beseech you, Sir, to consider, that when the whole Continent of Europe is at the feet of one man—when Russia no longer resists, and when all the men, the money, the ships, and the seacoasts from the Frozen Ocean to the Promontory of Italy, are at his disposal; when even in that disposal, he is bound by no controling power; when law to him has no force, and custom no authority; your yet unconquered and admirable island must be in some danger.

It is not necessary to lose time in estimating the extent of what is great almost beyond conception; neither is it necessary to be exactly acquainted with its nature, but the necessity of resistance, by every possible means, is evident, as an axiom; it admits of no dispute, and as unanimous exertion is the basis of effectual resistance, and, indeed, of every great effort; do not, I beseech you, Sir, with ill-timed levity and brilliant sallies of wit, interrupt, discussion on so solemn an occasion, and at so singular a crisis. Join with others in the effort to repel, by every means, and any means, the determination of the enemy to destroy. It is by such conduct that you can alone expect to aid in saving your country, from the chains that are forging in the infernal den, from which misery has spread over the whole surface of the Continent.

Your late colleague and his companions made but a sorry figure at the court of the Imperial Napoleon; those *admirers of the Rights of Man*, and the French Constitution of 1789; those followers of Paine, the man that sung blasphemous hallelujahs, in honour of the murderers of one of the best of kings, and most amiable of queens, could not have avoided seeing the sardonic grin with which they were received at the court of the newly elevated despot, (to

which their passport was the insolence they had shewn to their own sovereign,) but not their vanity rendered them blind. Whilst in France they were watched like thieves, and flattered like ideots, that they might procure more victims; but honour and respect they did not meet with. It was a comedy well conducted by knaves, and well applauded by dupes, but honourable to neither.

Think then, sir, before it is too late, what, and how bitter your fate will be, should that enemy triumph over your country, and should you appear at the Thuilleries, not as a visitor, but a culprit, a prisoner, and a slave. Let your exertion and your talents be employed to avert so evil a day. The fate of other nations, hard as it has been, scarcely gives a slight idea of the hardships and horrors that are intended for England, should that enemy prove successful, who has sworn to desolate the fields, and destroy the inhabitants, of the only barrier yet left between him and universal dominion over the whole globe.

The rightful sovereign of France has been planting oaks of commemoration at Stowe, but it is years since that terrestrial paradise was enregistered in the doomsday book of Bonaparte, as a reward for the ruffian general who should succeed in desolating England!

What ideas have the nobility and gentry of England? or do they not think at all? the danger is great, it is imminent, and yet they seem to be more thoughtless, and giddy than at any former period.

Let them look at the starving nobility of France. Let your bishops and dignitaries look to the clergy, and your princes to the fate of the family of Braganza, and let them take a serious lesson that is written in characters, both legible and indelible.

England must maintain the struggle till the Colossus falls, till the golden crown of France and the iron crown of Italy, are on separate heads, till Germany recollects her ancient bravery and freedom, and Russia her power and her extent; or that Collossus will crush England. But were your mind what it once was, you would not, I know, despair. There is much to suffer and much to overcome; but the nature of men and things are in favour of England: Nature, habit, and manners are the allies of England; for Bonaparte is the common enemy of them all. Have courage and perseverance, and the victory will yet be on your side; but it is not by your wit, your sophistry, or your sarcasm, that you can serve your country. Be what you once were, and your aid and example will be a tower of strength, and you will be once more the pride of your former friend and admirer

EDMUND BURKE

Shades, March, 20s 1808.

CUSTOM HOUSE AND PUBLIC OFFICES.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

As you are very zealous in exposing abuses, and equally ingenious in pointing out remedies for them, I request your insertion of the following letter.

In many of the public offices, but particularly at the Custom-House, papers that it is very important for the individuals to whom they belong, to have expedited, are frequently, through the negligence in carrying them from one office to another, delayed, to the loss, disappointment, and detriment of those concerned.

As the truth of what I say is well known, I shall not enter much into particulars, but to remedy this, I would propose, that all papers relative to ordinary routine business, should be stampt on the back or margin, at the first office they go

through, with the day and hour, like the letters at the two-penny post.

The possibility of finding out any delay, if it did take place, would prevent the danger of it in future. As I will not injure any individual, I shall not mention the particular case that occurred, and occasions me to write this letter.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

AN USEFUL OBSERVER.

GOVERNOR ARIS.

WE do not see without great vexation that a man so obnoxious to the public, and who is in a place where an unblemished character and known humanity are essential, is defended with a degree of zeal that would be well in a BETTER CAUSE. When we say a better cause, we do not mean to insinuate that every man in the kingdom has not a right to have justice, and, consequently, Mr. Aris, should not want defenders when accused, but there seems an anxiety indicating some sort of management in the case, which is hurtful from its very appearance, and we do not think there would be any great injustice in dismissing that obnoxious public servant.

We admire the way in which he is defended. It is something like the Irishman's defence, when he was brought before the magistrate for stealing a spade. The magistrate found it necessary to commit the man on the evidence of two witnesses, and before he sent him off to prison, said, "Well, Sir, "you find here are two witnesses who "saw you steal the spade, what have you "to say?"

"Why, an' please your honour and glo-"ry, Mr. Magistrate, you need not be after "minding that, for I can bring twenty thou-"sand that did not see me steal it."

The accusations against Mr. Aris are POSITIVE in their nature. He is *defended* NEGATIVELY; for the most attempted is to say, that those who inspected the prison did not see the grievances complained of, but they do not pretend to bring evidence that no such grievances ever did exist.

We know Mr. SHERIFF PHILLIPS personally, and we have a high opinion both of his penetration and of his veracity, and therefore we cannot think that he mistook the business when he made his complaint, as a man who had good intentions, but was ignorant or unacquainted with life, might have done. Mr. Sheriff Phillips is warm in the cause of humanity, but he has no blind zeal in any cause; we therefore do declare we cannot look lightly on any blame he may throw on any person.

At all events, we think it bad policy to shew any desire to prevent the whole naked truth from being known. PUBLIC OPINION is the firmest foundation for the throne of kings. OPINION precedes AFFECTION and ATTACHMENT; it precedes also ANGER and ENMITY.

We will support the government of the country, because we approve of it; but as we esteem the present men, we will never flatter them by approving what we think wrong; and we do think it neither wise nor fair to put the feelings of the public at large, in balance with the feelings of one man. Let them, if Aris deserves good treatment, remove him to another place, where he cannot vex the public as he has so repeatedly done. This we maintain would be good policy, as well as a fair and proper respect for the public; for Aris is either an improper or an unfortunate man.

ASYLUM FOR FEMALE SERVANTS. FOR THE PRESERVATION OF VIRTUE.

Continued from page 31.

We received the enclosed by the two-penny post. The writer has entered so much into the spirit of the proposed institution, that we return him thanks, and without either commentary or alteration, insert his letter as it came to our hands.

Mr. EDITOR,

If you possess candour enough to insert the sentiments of a correspondent, who is neither *Pittite*, *Foxite*, *Burdettite*, nor of *any party*, but friendly to general principles of liberty, and whose candour induces him to inform you at the outset of his letter, that he is far from being congenial with you in *all* political notions, though warmly accordant in some points; then, Sir, I need not fear publicity being promptly given to these few thoughts, occasioned by a letter in the second number of your publication, p. 30.

Sir, I cannot adequately express the pleasure I felt from perusing your proposal for an institution to afford an ASYLUM for virtuous young women, during the time they may be dismissed from service, or on their arrival in town to seek for employment.

It is a subject of high national importance, *if* the purity of national morals be important; since it would assuredly operate with great force to prevent their contamination.

Sir, I intreat you to *persevere* until the the object be accomplished; and, if no other good should result from your work than that alone, that one great end attained would fairly entitle you to be considered a national benefactor of the best kind: since he who prevents the progress of contagion is a more valuable physician than the practitioner who cures the diseased; the latter relieves individuals from suffering, the former prevents thousands from being afflicted.

Bring out your prospectus in a *general* way, as *soon* as *possible*. Do not wait for its perfect completion. New ideas can easily be added, week after week, as they arise in your own head, or from the suggestions of your correspondents.

Make a forcible appeal, in the outset, to *all* the clergy of the realm. There are thousands of good men among them, who will readily concur with you; and indeed, I think that none but the *evil-minded* priest (of which description I fear there are some) none but such men would refuse to comply, were you to request them to preach one sermon to their respective congregations on next *Whitsunday*, to forward the admirable purpose of this intended institution. My reason for choosing that day is, because more people commonly resort to church on the festival Sundays that at other times; and I am well convinced, that the subject would be deemed generally quite as interesting to the auditors, as to discourse to them concerning the ascension, the particulars of which may easily be learnt from Nelson and other writers on the fasts and festivals.

Every scheme of benevolence ought at at all times, to find a ready advocate in the pulpit.

Let there be a collection at the church door of every parish, immediately after the sermon. Probably, indeed, several of the dissenting congregations would *not* find any inclination to *dissent* from the church, in this instance; but, men of all creeds, and of different ceremonies, Jews, Romanists, and Protestants, would unite heart and hand, to rear an edifice for the protection of female virtue.

However, *anticipating* or *calculating* only on the aid of the established church, and supposing only four out of five clergymen, to

have goodness enough to promote the object in view, if but ten shillings were to be collected on an *average* from each congregation, that would produce an aggregate sum, amply sufficient to commence the undertaking on a respectable scale; and let there be ever afterwards an annual or triennial sermon to support it, in all the principal towns, and opulent rural districts of England; or I should rather say, of the united *empire*, for every part of the empire is really interested in a great degree, to establish, and continue it; as young women from all parts resort to the metropolis; and, therefore, the person who contributes even but a shilling towards it, may, for aught he can tell, be contributing a mite to protect his child, his grand child, or some immediate or collateral descendant, from experiencing that misery, which often leads to final ruin.

Such a subject as this cannot fail to inspire eloquence; and eloquence on so benevolent a cause, cannot fail to make a powerful impression on those who hear it.

Let the money so collected be transmitted by the clergymen and church-wardens, to the receiver-general of each county, and he will duly forward it to the trustees.

Let men of rank step forward with a zeal becoming them as lovers of virtue, to act as trustees.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, should be at the head of them, because the institution is to be in the province of his grace, and the diocese of his lordship.

So sanctioned, there need not be half a doubt entertained for half a minute, that the munificence of royalty would be withheld.

Embracing the subject in that extended point of view which includes the whole empire, if it be taken in hand with that religious and patriotic zeal which the occasion itself seems likely to inspire, in less than two months, you will have the heartfelt satisfaction of announcing a very liberal subscription; and the public may fairly *anticipate* great good resulting from the application of it.

The signature of the gentleman who proposed this Asylum for unprotected virtuous females, (and whom I strongly guess to be yourself Mr. Editor,) was W. P.

Let mine take one letter more, the initials of my real name, and accordingly

I subscribe, respectfully,

W. P. R.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE UTILITY AND NECESSITY OF A COMMERCIAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THERE is no point in which history is in general so deficient, as in the details relative to the commerce and finance of different nations. In speaking of this, Dr. Robertson observes, "It is a cruel mortification, in searching for what is instructive in the history of past times, to find "that the exploits of conquerors who have "desolated the earth, and the freakes of "tyrants who have rendered nations unhappy, are recorded with minute and "even disgusting accuracy, while the discovery of useful arts, and the progress of "the most beneficial branches of commerce "are passed over in silence, and suffered "to sink into oblivion."

This defect in the history of former times is an irreparable loss: but when we consider that, within the last two centuries, commerce is become the great source from which nations derive their power; the great object for which they contend in war, and are rivals in time of peace, the history of the present times and of the last century, will, indeed, be very imperfect, without a proper portion of it is assigned to that highly important subject.

Commerce in the ancient world, and in-

deed previous to the sixteenth century, was of little importance, it was confined to a few objects and a small portion of mankind. Respecting the manufacturing arts, (as they are termed in contradistinction to the fine arts) the same thing may be said, but now matters are totally altered, and nations that are not supported by commercial wealth, are unable to maintain any great degree of political importance. The discoveries of America, of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, of the mariner's compass, and gunpowder, all nearly at one period, altered the state of mankind.

These truths are so well known, that it would be superfluous to insist on them; but they were not equally well known when Mr. Hume wrote his excellent History of England; so that the commercial part has been much neglected; though it is true that the British nation did not rise to eminence till after the period at which Mr. Hume finishes his history.

The continuators of the History of England have tried to imitate Mr. Hume's plan, without adverting to the change that had imperceptibly taken place in the kingdom, the permanent feature of which is now become its unexampled wealth, commerce, and revenue.

In writing history, the attention of the author should be chiefly bestowed on those objects that at a future period will excite the greatest curiosity from their importance; that is to say, the circumstances by which a nation was in its day the most distinguished.

A History of the Wars of the Egyptians, or of the Commerce of the Romans, would excite little interest; historians have, therefore, directed their attention to the arts and sciences that flourished in Egypt, and to the warlike skill and policy that made the Romans the masters of the world.

To give to matters of commerce and finance that place in history which, from their importance they are entitled to, is the object of the present publication: observing, that in this part of history, the mode of writing is the reverse with that portion which records the intrigues of courts, the politics, or even the warlike exploits of nations.

It is only through process of time which brings truth to light, and when prejudice has died away, that men CAN write a *true history* of what, at the time, was enveloped in mystery. It is only through process of time, when the actors and their immediate descendants are removed from the stage, that men DARE write a *true history*.

It is not so in matters of commerce and finance, there every thing is open and plain to the cotemporary historian. The importance of the transaction is greatest at the moment, and time covers with the veil of oblivion those sort of transactions, as naturally as it developes those of a political, intricate, and concealed nature.

Fully persuaded that these truths are not only undeniable but self-evident, we are sorry that some capable person, does not undertake to write a commercial History of England, upon such a plan as will admit of its being a separate work entirely from those histories now extant, or such as may in future editions be inserted as supplementary chapters at the end of each king's reign. Previous to Edward the Third there should be but one chapter, and from that period to the end of Henry the Seventh, chapters only occasionally, but from that time regularly at the end of each reign.

From the accession of his present majesty, to the year 1806, the time should be divided into three parts, first from 1762 to 1775, the beginning of the American war; second, from 1775 and 1793, the beginning of the French revolutionary war; and third, from that time to the latest period.

Great care should be taken to trace out and display the manner by which Britain has gained, and still maintains her superiority in commerce and wealth, her con-

tinued industry, unimpeachable honour and integrity, the basis of credit, both in private and public transactions, the attention of the legislature to encourage trade, and the admirable security and protection given by law to property in every form; all which are matters of the highest importance to be understood, not only in this, but in every other nation. The stability of our wealth, as well as its greatness, will appear from such a history, and our enemies would be convinced, that commercial wealth cannot be obtained by war and bloodshed, and moreover, that it is not true policy in any nation that aspires to commercial wealth, to wish to injure England, let others become our rivals, but not our enemies, and then they may perhaps succeed.

Letter to Alex. Davison, Esq.

RELATIVE TO

HIS OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE THIRD REPORT,

OF THE

Commissioners of Military Enquiry

Continued from page 100.

The last lines of your pamphlet are the most complete specimens of self approbation I have ever witnessed. You could have said no more in your own praise, if you had been a man who had achieved some wonderous exploit.

But now seriously, Mr. Davison, let me ask whether nor ot you mean to insult or to deceive the public, by your boasting of your generosity, patriotism, and disinterestedness? You ought, Sir, to consider the situation in which you stand, and in which that public stands, even according to your own statements.

Whatever you may say you intended, you have, at the very most, only attempted to prove, that the very extravagant prices for coals, charged by you, can be accounted for as fallen somewhat short of peculation and villainy.

The negligence of the barrack-master-general, in his drawing up the second agreement with you; the ignorance to which is to be attributed the allowing you to confound and connect the second and first agreements together. I say, Sir, the greatest portion of good-nature that can possibly be expected of the public, is to say that you have enriched yourself by mistake and not by intention; but what do you claim esteem, approbation, and praise from? For actions known, you say, to Mr. Pitt and Lord Nelson, two great men whose names ought not to be written on the foul page of such a vindication. But they are dead witnesses. Why do not you appeal to Lord Moira? His lordship is a man of honour, and if called upon, would be able to say yes or no, at least; though the public will place more confidence in the disposition of your agent, who was hanged for forgery, than to that of the first and most honourable nobleman in the kingdom. He inspected you more closely; he was behind the curtain; and add to all this, his own practices led him to conceive, to appreciate, and understand indiscreet transactions. Men of honour, like those mentioned, are the worst men in the world to see into little nasty sneaking tricks to get money, when those tricks are performed with any degree of dexterity, or covered with expressions of zeal for the public service, such as you have very improperly introduced at the end of your observations.

But, Sir, consider the public. The public sees, that between you and the barrack officer, it has paid double price often for coals. That you bought those very coals cheap, with the public money, not with your own, and the public must think as

that was the case, you are not entitled to profits on its capital, that you was but an agent, and that the coals were the property of the public the moment they were first purchased with the money of the public.—Injured as the public in reality is, do you expect it will listen to your praise, or feel any sensation, but that of indignation, when you attempt to pass so gross an imposition as that of your having a claim to patriotism and praise? No, Sir; the public may feel it impossible to obtain justice.

"*In the corrupted currents of this world,*
"*Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice,*
"*And oft 'tis known the wicked prize itself*
"*Buys off the law.*"

But do not expect to obtain praise; nay, do not expect to obtain pardon; be contented if you escape punishment; it is all that you have a right to expect, even by your own attempts to prove that your transactions were immaculate; and if you are not compelled to make restitution of the profits obtained in supplying the nation with coals, with its own money, we shall at least be able to say, that there are other persons that deserve public censure besides Alexander Davison.

I said in the beginning of this letter, that *if* your character, as drawn by yourself, is true, your are the most injured man alive; but *if* it is not, you certainly are one of the most impudent.

It is not for me to determine the rank that you are in future to hold in the opinion of mankind; but I have endeavoured to throw light upon a subject that may enable them more easily to settle the point in dispute.

ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

WHEREAS a certain opinion has gone abroad, that Alexander Davison, Esq. of St. James's-square, has been guilty of peculation, and that in endeavouring to answer the report which gave rise to this opinion, Alexander Davison has, unfortunately, not succeeded; but, whereas, the said Alexander Davison feels himself to be a man of very nice honour, regardless of money, and very delicate in regard to reputation and character; this is to give notice, that the said Alexander intends to publish and print a history of his life, setting forth the various instances in which he has sacrificed his own interest to that of the public, and gone beyond the limits of his duty so to do. The mistaken and misled public is therefore requested and expected, in the mean time, to admire and esteem Alexander Davison as a most disinterested and generous patriot, and not to listen to those who represent him as a man guilty of peculation and an object of contempt.

THE LITERARY FUND.

THE public is not much acquainted, we suppose, with the real merit and utility of this admirable institution; the object of which is to relieve men of letters, in a distressed situation, to which that class of persons is uncommonly liable, from a variety of causes, which, combined together, induced Dr. Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, to call them the UNFORTUNATE CLASS OF MEN OF LETTERS.

The man of letters is generally careless, and seldom economical; add to these, that he labours on objects rather because they are agreeable to his mind, than likely to be productive of pecuniary advantage.

We shall not attempt to enumerate the combination of causes that all operate in reducing such men occasionally to indigence, for that would be an Herculean labour, but as they work from fancy, and their works are often not wanted, and as booksellers naturally take advantage of necessity, a

are sometimes not good judges, their rule is to err on the safe side, and give LITTLE ENOUGH. *Little enough*, here signifies *too little*—not quite *nothing*, but a plant growing almost in the same latitude.

The obligations that society owes to men of letters (the unfortunate men of letters) are, however beyond calculation great, of which the value set upon the liberty of the press is some proof. The truth is, that without the aid of men of letters, the darkness of the fourteenth century would still remain.

Those insignificant unfortunate men of letters, while they have struggled with cold, hunger and want, have formed the van guard of the army, that battered down the castles of the haughty feudal barons, while they made them descend from their fortresses, civilized their minds, and improved their manners.

In short, to this band, (which for its poverty very much resembles the primeval teachers of our holy religion,) the world owes arts, science, liberty, and all the advantages of polished society.

One of the most benevolent of men, and one of the most modest, (whose name we use, without his authority or knowledge) DAVID WILLIAMS, Esq. some years ago, laid a plan for the relief of men of letters, the outlines of which we shall give in our next, and as we consider it A REPROACH TO GOVERNMENT, that it has not come forward to take it by the hand, we insert the following idea of a memorial in its behalf, which was written by a friend about twelve months ago.

Outlines or grounds of a Memorial to Government, requesting Support, or at least Protection and Countenance for the Literary Fund.

YOUR memorialists, who come forward, not in behalf of themselves, but of an institution which humanity, national character, and good policy, require should be supported, hope that they will not plead that important cause in vain.

If to aid the indigent is a duty of humanity, and of the government, without any other claims than those of being a person born in his Majesty's dominions, how much more is it a duty, to aid men, who, in addition to the common claim of all his Majesty's subjects, are acknowledged to be men of merit, and to have contributed to the public good?

National character depends on a few single points. Bravery and skill in war, a love of literature, of science, and the arts, have constituted the leading features of all nations, that have been, or are distinguished above others. Greece and Rome owe their high reputation to those acquirements, but not to one alone. Warriors without literature and the arts, may be powerful, formidable and great, but they never can be amiable, nor become the admiration of mankind: their character is little better than that of brave savages.

Literature is, in the general meaning of the term, the chain or cement that connects every particular species of knowledge with the others; and certainly the freedom, happiness, and wealth of this country, owe much to men of letters.

But your memorialists beg leave to state, that in few countries are *men of letters so much neglected* as in this, where the sovereign is limited in his means of encouragement, and where the legislature is totally inattentive to that object. It becomes your petitioners, however, to observe, that it is some consideration even of prudence to attach literary men to the government, for they are, when well disposed, the best adherents it can have, when not the most dangerous enemies. It is well and wise then, never to allow them to be driven to despair by misfortune, and to inspire the general feeling, that they are respected and well looked upon by the members of government.

Your memorialists beg leave to represent, that there are many circumstances that tend to discourage men of letters in this country, and none more than that the Literary Fund raised by a few individuals, has neither received countenance or support from government; by which more money is given to foreigners, (who have taken refuge in this country,) in one week, than they possess in a year; and when one single foreigner, often without any claim that is apparent, receives more aid singly than would do for all the men of letters.

Your memorialists beg leave to observe, that as they are actuated by motives of humanity to others, not by any interest of their own, they feel it a duty and a right to explain themselves in plain but respectful terms on this subject, and humbly submit to his Majesty, whether an establishment of this nature does not merit, SUPPORT, COUNTENANCE, and PROTECTION, leaving it entirely to his Majesty, and the ministers he has chosen, to determine on the amount and manner of giving—£ 500 a year, a charter, and a recommendation to public liberality would do all that is required.

[*To be continued.*]

THE BUDGET.

To the EDITOR of ANTICIPATION.

Sir.

As your business seems to be to aid such public measures as you think good, and oppose such as you think hurtful, you will probably have no objection to insert the following observations on the last budget.

Mr. Perceval should be firm, and not mind what Mr. Tierney says, for we all remember Mr. Tierney's *angry* opposition to the income tax; that Mr. Tierney attacked Mr. Pitt so warmly, that the great finance minister of England, the immortal William Pitt, condescended to go to Putney Heath, and let the irrassible Tierney fire a pistol at him, to the satisfaction of the rabble and of himself.

Mr. Tierney (who displeased all his friends when he had an opportunity of acting) is what sportsmen call a hard mouthed dog, and eternally opposing every measure that he sees peculiarly advantageous.

He was the only man in the House of Commons, who was believed to have a personal enmity against Mr. Pitt, and in all his opposition, there was a degree of acrimony not necessary in discussion, and not very much becoming a gentleman.

The country bankers issue and re-issue their notes as long as they will stick together, without any renewal of stamps; whilst common tradesmen, and people in every ordinary line of business, are obliged to use stamps for a bill if it has only ten days to run; so that if the whole affair is considered, the advantages of the banker are not only enormous but even vexatious.

From the earliest ages, the right of coining money was one of the privileges exclusively attached to the sovereign, and to this day METALLIC MONEY cannot be coined by any subject in any country.

Every one, however, can make PAPER MONEY, which, though a recent invention, is attended with much greater advantage to the maker, as they are of no intrinsic value, and the country bankers are the persons who derive the whole of this advantage.

There are about £ 36,000,000 of country notes in circulation, producing about £ 1,800,000 interest to the bankers who issue them, and who, though they may be very rich and respectable men, advance no capital to carry on their business.

Before the Bank of England stopt, each banker was obliged to keep a quantity of cash in his office, and the power of draw-

prospect beyond the grave. The expectation of a happy hereafter, is the only solid consolation that can be enjoyed in this world, as all transitory pleasures are embittered with the reflection that they are evanescent, and will soon be no more.—That they will soon be like yesterday, or, as the shadow, after the sun that gave it, is gone down to the Atlantic Ocean.

Perhaps nothing equalizes human happiness in this world below, so much as the belief in a happy futurity for those who do well. Without that, *death* to the rich and great would be full of terror, and life to the poor and unfortunate would be past endurance.

As incredulity is the *vice* of the present age, we shall begin with shewing the practical advantages of the Christian religion.

If not more real they are at least more palpable, and less liable to be disputed by sophistry and quibble, than the others that spring from the same fountain.

The Christian religion is distinguished for raising men in character, and the Mahomedan for sinking them low. Wherever the Mahomedan faith has extended its influence, the people are found degraded in their manners, and the governments despotic.

Under the most despotic Christian sovereigns, matters are governed by law. There are no regular murders committed by the hand of power, without the intervention of justice; and if plenitude of power admits of the greatest excesses in the sovereign, in some Christian countries, the opinion of his fellow men, the fear of his God, or some sentiment or principle in his own breast, restrains him in the exercise of it.

It is not so with Mahomedan princes; with them nothing is sacred that they hate; nothing shameful that they do. Whatever their conscience may be, whatever may be the nature of their moral rules, rapine and murder are not forbidden by them, or if they are, the law is not obeyed. In proportion to the despotism, and ferocity of the sovereign, is the slavishness of the people, their brutality and vicious habits, in all Mahomedan countries; their character and its great inferiority are so well known, that it is impossible for any person to be ignorant of it.

When the Mahomedan governments possess power, they are proud and overbearing, the people luxurious and given to every refinement in vice. When they sink into poverty that pride becomes ferocity, and the luxury degenerates into brutality and sloth; but neither in the one or in the other case have they the proper value for science, literature, for liberty, or for any of the acquirements that either make a man estimable or useful. The followers of Mahomet neither excel in arts nor in science; physically, they are inferior in utility, and their minds are less instructed. They are not equal to CHRISTIANS either in war or in peace, nor to be compared to them for any one good quality.

The greatest and best portion of the old world is, however in the hands of Mahomedans; but, in point of wealth or power, they are of little importance, and every day they are sinking lower still. How great then must be the superiority of those professing the Christian religion!

Amongst those who profess Christianity it has been remarked, by all who have travelled, and who have had an opportunity of observing it, that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, flourish most in Protestant countries. Even where there are different sects of the Christian religion in the same country, arts, manufactures, and industry in general, appear to have flourished most amongst the Protestants.

The cruelties of the Duke of Alva, and the absurd bigotry of Lewis XIV. drove the most industrious inhabitants from the Netherlands, and from France, merely because they happened to be Protestants,

which is a proof that there is a connection between that branch of the Christian religion and industry. The Protestants were the most industrious in both countries.

The Protestants appear also to be the most attentive to preserving a good form of government, and to set a greater value upon liberty than people of any religion.

The reformation in religion, and the establishment of manufactures in England, date from nearly the same period; it was about the same time, also, that the spirit of liberty began to break out first in Scotland, and then in England, which terminated in the revolution. There are, therefore, many reasons, from experience, for believing that the Protestant religion is particularly favourable to industry and freedom. There are other reasons, likewise, that arise from a consideration of the subject, that would lead one to the same conclusion, even if there were no experience of the fact.

Whatever frees the human mind from useless prejudice, and leads it to pure morality, gives dignity to man, and increases his power of becoming a good and useful member of society.

The Christian religion not only contains the most pure moral code, but the best, most useful, and simple rules for conduct in life, are therein promulgated. The Roman Catholic faith was clogged in the early days of the church, both of dogmatical and practical errors that tend not only to fetter the mind, but actually embarrass the business of human life.

But it is the Protestant not the Roman Catholic religion that we want to extend; therefore of the good it is the best, and neither too much pains nor too much expence can be bestowed on so desirable an object.

At the same time that we say this, we must observe, that though such is the general reasoning on the subject in particular cases, the considerations become more complicated. The prejudices of the natives requires being attended to for a double reason. Opinion cannot be propagated by force; on the contrary, the religion that is persecuted naturally extends, when not persecuted remains stationary, and sometimes falls off. The Christian religion expanded whilst persecuted, and so did that branch of it termed Protestants: but in Ireland where the Protestants met with preference, we are told they rather decrease, and that the Catholics make proselytes.

This is a very important subject, and we shall regularly return to it every week.

CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMY.

We have received a letter relative to the chaplains in the army, who, it would appear, were suppressed some years ago, which was rather a singular transaction, at the very time that the intimate connection between religious opinions and the happiness of mankind was better known than at any former perid.

The letter came too late for insertion, but it will appear in our next, and we shall be obliged to the same correspondent for a continuance of his favors.

BANKRUPT LAW.

A change is intended on this important branch of the law of England, and never was a change more wanted in any human arrangement. Whether we look at the law or the practice. The manner in which it is put in execution, we find nothing but error, and error productive of very great

mischief, and that mischief is constantly increasing.

In the beginning of the last century there were about thirty-three bankruptcies in a year, there are now about one thousand three hundred on an average, which is a wonderful increase.

The dividends under the commissions, do not average four shillings in the pound, and that scanty remnant is paid at the end of a number of years, when by right regulations they might at least average twelve shillings, and be settled without loss of time.

We shall shew in our next a variety of alterations that may be made for the better, and we hope they will be made; for the present Chancellor is so well convinced of the imperfections of the bankrupt law, that a few months ago, he said in court, that he really thought it would be as well to have no law at all, as to have laws that admit of the abuses that were then exhibited before him.

We shall continue our observations on the Catholic Question next week, and we congratulate Opposition on having such a STOCK-PIECE to bring upon the stage whenever they think proper. The strength of this country is greater than we be believe it to be, and we do not rate it meanly, if we can bear to fight Europe single handed, and keep squabbling amongst ourselves at the same time.

BONAPARTE must be well pleased to see how much service is done to his cause, by those persons who try to encumber England in the midst of the present desperate contest; and he may say in the words of Sterne in his Sentimental Journey, "They order this matter better in France." It would, indeed, be difficult to find how it could be ordered worse; and this the opposition may depend upon, and ministers also, that Bonaparte is now preparing a force to be thrown on the Irish coast the first opportunity.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have had an explanation of the circumstances relative to the Baron de Rolle, and find that envy, for the success attendant on prudent conduct and constant attachment to the interests of the House of Bourbon, are the motives of those who would wish to misrepresent him. We of consequence say, that it does not appear that the smallest article can be urged to hurt his estimation in the eyes of honourable men, or the government of this country.

We thank our correspondent who has sent his excellent letter relative to the lectures on chemistry of Mr. Davy, at the Royal Institution. We shall insert it in our next.

The war, that we have declared from the beginning, with those modern philosophers, who so strenuously fight on the wretched cause of materialism, is a pledge already given of our disposition to attend to every communication of that sort, and we are extremely glad to know, that there is a gentleman, who to great science adds the deposition from the sublime, and wonderful works of creation, to shew fourth the power of the creator.

We have given the *Philosophers* a little respite, but we have something very serious to say to them.

The Letter relative to dangers of a General Army Agency Office in our next.

Also a Note to the OLD SOLDIER, with whose request we cannot comply---he may have no such intention, but his letter would tend to create discontent, a thing that we are resolved never to do—no power on earth shall draw us beyond the circumference of our circle.

Printed by W. Glindon, Rupert street, Haymarket, and published by R. Field, 9, Newcastle-street, Strand, AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N° 7.

The King and the Country.

Printed by W. GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors, 9, Newcastle-Street, Strand,

SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

BONAPARTE's POLITICS.

Continued from page 16.

ONE distinguishing trait in the character of that extraordinary man is, that he always *appears* to be seriously occupied on some *secondary* object, while he has some primary grand object at heart, on which he labours mysteriously, and in a *hidden* and *concealed* way.

To give peace to the Continent appeared to be his view, when he concluded the Treaty of Tilsit; but the ruin of PORTUGAL, of DENMARK, SPAIN, SWEDEN, and, ultimately, of ENGLAND, were his objects at the very moment that he talked of peace.

At present BONAPARTE seems occupied with the affairs of SPAIN, and the INVASION of SWEDEN; but the affairs of Spain scarcely occupy his mind, for every thing there is completely in his power; and as to Sweden, he is in no haste to do that business. The EMPEROR of RUSSIA will weaken himself by the contest, and the French troops, under pretence of the invasion of SCANIA, will get complete possession of Denmark, without any great effort on the part of BONAPARTE, whose real object is (while all Europe and England are directing their attention to those points) to INVADE IRELAND, making at the same time a diversion on the east coast of England or Scotland.

That this is the plan of the French Ruler at this moment we are certain; and he will execute it as soon as it is in his power, and we almost wish it were to take place immediately, for the country would then see that the matter is serious, and the wrangling of opposition would cease.

It is very singular that, at the time that the fate of the empire is at stake, men should be found so lost to the good of their country, as to prefer party bickering, and paltry squabbles, to its serious interests; and it is not much less strange, that the bulk of the people should look on with indifference, and that some of them should even applaud the manœuvres that run a great risque of ruining this happy island.

Let us look at the Continent of Europe from one end to the other, and we see nothing but a variety of shades of misery, according to local and particular circumstances; but as to the despotism and oppression, those are regularly the same over the whole surface of the Continent.

The plan with respect to England is, to detach Ireland, if possible, and when that is done, it is supposed this country must fall; and if it does, the mode he proposes with England is nearly as follows. This, it is pretty well known, is true, from the conversation of those persons, high in military affairs, at Paris, who are the only individuals that dare to speak openly, and they do not seem any way afaid, though it is true that they always speak with great attachment towards the person of Bonaparte.

The new courtiers of the Thuilleries are the daring hardy officers, who are ready to execute any order of their master, and they may be said to be the only persons who enjoy liberty in France, or who are free from fear. According to these men, the plan of the Usurper, on England, if he should succeed, is

BONAPARTE'S PLAN FOR CONQUERED ENGLAND.

1. To carry off all the men of importance, or of abilities, in the country, and to make them settle in an obscure way, in various places on the Continent under a vigilant guard, and if any one is ever found returning to England, military execution instantly, on their being identified. That is, to be identified and shot.

2. The estates to be distributed among the French officers, to whom rewards are due, according to their rank, merit, and services.

3. No Englishman to be left in possession of more than fifty acres of land, all estates above that to be forfeited, and given to the French.

4. One third part of the estates seized to be sold to foreigners, and the produce paid into the treasury.

5. A list to be made out of all persons of rank, distinction, or property; the males to be carried out of the kingdom; the ladies to be married to Frenchmen, or to be compelled to emigrate.

6. All the volunteers to be sent abroad, those of a proper age to be distributed in the armies, like the conscripts, such as are not to labour in their own trade.

7. All the great manufactories of cotton, and of whatever rivals France, together with the work people, to be removed. Such as cannot be removed, to be destroyed.

8. The Bank of England, and all public establishments to be seized, on account of the Emperor.

9. Secretion of property, in all cases, to be punished with death.

10. The French language to be taught in schools, and the English language abolished.

11. No universities to be allowed in England, but the present revenues to go to universities and colleges on the Continent, such

as the Emperor may appoint, and there the youth of England must be educated.

12. The name of the island to be changed from that of Britain, to that of the Appanage. (The Appendage)

13. Not more than one-fourth of places, civil or military, ever to be occupied by persons born in that island.

14. The conscripts of the island always to serve in the armies on the Continent, and continental troops to garrison that insular country.

15. In the new distribution of lands, the boundaries of the estates to be altered.—The counties also to change the number and their name.

16. The Tower of London to be destroyed; all batteries and fortifications throughout the country; the wet-docks, harbours, and conveniences, either for mercantile or a warlike navy, also destroyed.

17. London to be reduced to half its size, and all the bridges broke down, except London Bridge.

18. The best artists and manufacturers in every line to be transplanted to the Continent, with their families.

19. Opposition to the will of the Emperor, in any case, to be punished in a summary manner with death.

20. In any case, not foreseen or provided for, the French Chiefs, to whom the government of the country shall be entrusted, to be the judges, and to have a right to cause military execution to take place, according to their own judgment.

21. In case, by the above regulations, one half of the male population of real born Englishmen shall not be carried away, then the remainder to be removed by lot, or according to the persons pointed out by the French constituted authorities.

22. The Catholic religion to be established in Britain, on the same footing that it is throughout the rest of the French empire; and divine service to be performed in French, in all the churches.

23. All magistrates, clergy, and teachers, to be Frenchmen born.

24. All those, who directly, or indirectly, oppose, or throw any impediments in the way of the execution of those decrees, to be punished summarily with death.

Such, or nearly such, Friends and Countrymen! is the fate prepared for this happy island, by the despot of the Continent; and were it not that we depend upon our courage, for defeating his projects, despair must be the consequence.

What, however, is courage, and every thing else, unless we have unanimity and exertion?

Can we suppose, that England, occupied in political wrangling at home, can withstand the united world for any great number of years?

Are we, because the danger that threatens us is not immediate, to suppose that it is not real; or if real, are we to prefer party squabbles to the safety of the nation?

When the Romans and Carthaginians engaged in the last Punic war, all was unanimity at Rome—At Carthage, all was party and cabal.—The city was rich, and the danger seemed distant, but when the Roman army at last was under the walls, the desperation and patriotism of the inhabitants were equal to their former indifference.

The ladies of the highest rank, who wore long hair, cut it off to make bow-strings, to enable the citizens to resist the enemy. A month before, they would not have sacrificed a single lock, to have destroyed the whole Roman army, and in a short time after the city was rased to the ground!!!

Let the nobility, the gentry, the members of parliament, and the people think of this.

As to the reality of Bonaparte's plans and intentions, they are certain, and were publicly talked of last summer, before the attack at Copenhagen, which deranged his

for the time, and, perhaps, may make their execution impracticable for some years; but we are never to look at the danger, as one to be despised, for if we do despise it, it will become certain; if, on the contrary, we do not despise it, but consider it as real, it is more than probable that it will be entirely done away.

An unavoidable multiplicity of objects has prevented our sooner giving these plans, of the existence of which we are certain; as to the accuracy in every point, we will not vouch for it; but we will go so far as to declare positively, that the *toute ensemble*, the general spirit and outline is correct; and surely a more serious object of consideration could not be laid before the public.

It is in the contemplation of this danger that we said, we could almost wish something serious would take place, to apprize the nation of the real circumstances in which it is placed, and make it assume that posture which it requires, and which at this time, is very far from the thoughts of those who are the most interested in its welfare.

We go farther—we despair of any great change till something serious does happen; but if we were to go into this, we must state so many facts, and say things disagreeable and vexatious to so many persons, that we should never be forgiven.

Amongst other things, however, we should say, that all the writers who oppose government are caressed, applauded, and encouraged, even by those who eat their bread at the public expence; who, for the most part, delight in the abuse that is lavished on their superiors, and who are totally unthankful for the benefits they receive.

We cannot finish this article without saying, that the men who stand the best affected to the government of the country, are those who labour honestly for their bread, who pay their taxes, and are not indebted to any one for favours.—Such men, it might be supposed, would be the first to complain; on the contrary, they are the last; and those who have no right at all to complain, are generally the foremost.

It was the same way under the ancient government of France. So that though it may appear to be strange, it is for some reason or another natural, else it could not have taken place in a similar way in both countries.

[*To be continued.*]

HIGH PRICE OF PROVISIONS.

Continued from page 72.

The rate of provisions is then liable on particular occasions, to rise to a monopoly price, such as that of those rare productions of nature, the quantity of which cannot be increased, whatever the demand may be. Dr. Smith divides produce into three different sorts; the two first are such as can be only produced in a certain quantity, whatever the demand may be, and such as can be produced always in sufficient quantity. It follows, as an evident consequence, that the price increases as the scarcity augments; but, if it only did so, the evil would not be so great as it really is. In the first place, the anxiety attendant on the risque of wanting so necessary an article, creates a greater competition amongst buyers, than the degree of scarcity would occasion in an article of less necessity and importance. In a wealthy nation, the evil is still farther increased, by two other causes.

The high price which one part of the society is able to afford, induces them to give any price, and the wealth of those who sell, enables them to keep back the provisions from the market. The first cause operates in all countries nearly alike, for

the anxiety to have food is nearly equal all the world over. But the two last operate more or less, according to the wealth of the buyers and of the sellers, as the eagerness and ability of the former to purchase, and the interest and ability of the latter to keep back from selling, are regulated by the degree of wealth in a country. (This was proved by what happened in Paris in 1789, and in England in 1800. The want in Paris was so real, that there often were not, in that great city, bread, or materials to make it, more than sufficient for twenty-four hours: yet it never rose to above double the usual price, or two-pence the English pound, (that is, sixteen sous for the four pound loaf,) although the people were often obliged to wait from six in the morning, till two or three in the afternoon, before they could get a loaf a piece (and more they were not permitted to purchase or carry away). In London, where bread could always be had in plenty for money, it rose to more than three times the usual price, (one shilling and ten-pence half-penny the quarten loaf) yet bread is a much more necessary article to the poor in Paris, than in London, and therefore should have risen highest in Paris. But the case was, that in London, the people are richer, and, in each place, it rose as high as the people were found able to pay.

When the necessaries of life become very dear, and arrive at a monopoly price, then all the taxes and other burthens, laid on the people, become a matter comparatively of little importance. In England, where the taxes are higher than in any other nation in the world, they do not come on the poor to above two pounds per head per annum. The whole taxes in this country do not amount to above four pounds a head, of which one half is paid entirely by the wealthy, or at least the affluent. It is, then, putting the share paid by the labouring body very high, to put it at two pounds a head each person; and of those taxes, at least one half can be avoided by a little self-denial. But when the provisions increase one half in price, it amounts to at least four pounds a head to each person; so that the effect falls on the population of the country with a most extraordinary degree of severity.

But great as this evil is, it has, by the circumstances and nature of things, a tendency to increase the very cause in which it originates. Though the highness of price diminishes the consumption of victuals in general, it diminishes the consumption of vegetable food, or bread, more than it does that of animal food. Though all sorts of eatables rise in price in times of scarcity, yet bread, being the article that excites the greatest anxiety, rises higher in proportion than the others. This affords an encouragement to gratify the propensity for eating animal food, and this propensity is encouraged by an absurd and mistaken policy, (or perhaps rather an affectation of policy) by which economy in bread is prescribed, and not in other food; so that when people devour animal food, though they increase the evil, they think they are most patriotically and humanely diminishing it.

Both in France and in England, during the late scarcity, the use of every other sort of food was recommended, to save the consumption of bread-corn. Potatoes are the only substitute that tend really to relieve the distress; all others, and in particular animal food, had an effect in augmenting it.

The danger of wanting food, though very formidable, does not act so instantaneously as to serve as an excuse for want of reflection, like an alarm of fire, where the anxiety to escape prevents the possibility of doing so; yet the fact is, that all the measures that have generally been taken, in times of scarcity, have tended rather to increase than to diminish the evil.

[*To be continued.*]

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER V.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. C. J. FOX, IN THE SHADES—TO THE MEMBERS OF HIS DISPERSED PARTY, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I was active in leading you into error, so do I wish to extricate you from a continuance in it.

I believe I never was suspected of wrong intention, but through life I was the slave of passions, which varied as my constitution altered; but I never was for a moment without a *ruling passion*, and to it I was always submissively blind.

To speak my own praise does not become me, and if it did, to you who have done me more than justice, that would, at all events, be quite superfluous; I shall, therefore, speak of errors that at one time to me wore a different appearance; but the days of vanity and of self-deception (with me) are now over.

My enemies have sometimes imputed to me bad intentions—they went too far—I have often done wrong, but I always meant right. I always had the good of my country at heart, though I certainly have frequently mistaken the way to do it a service.

I shall go no farther back in my political life than to the beginning of the French revolution; what happened previous to that is now of little or of no importance; and nearly all of those who then acted a conspicuous part, have, like me, paid the debt exacted by nature from every mortal.

In my youth, I was indulged in every caprice by a too fond parent, and by that means my passions became too strong for my reason to control, when I rose to years of maturity.

My ready comprehension of every subject made me overlook difficulties that would have stopped the career of other men; so that I, in fact, encountered danger, without being sensible that it was danger. Whatever to me was desirable I could defend, both on the score of right and of practicability.

Ambitious by nature and difficult to control, I was early in life ruined in fortune and disappointed in prospects. My history, at least in its outlines, is known to you all, that, therefore, I shall not repeat.

Generous and open by nature, I had made promises I could not fulfil, and therefore in every sense of the word, and to its utmost extent, I became the most needy man in England, and one of the most discontented.

The regency, projected in 1788, wakened up all my passions, just at the moment when philosophy, reading, and reflection began to operate a change. Those views were frustrated before the French revolution began, which, by opening a new scene, attracted my attention, in common with that of every politician in Europe.

Ardent and well-intentioned, I did not take time for reflection, but fairly fell into the error of the French Reformers, who vainly imagined that they could establish a more perfect order of things than any that had ever existed; founded not upon experience of its practicability, but upon a theory that seemed to me to correspond with original rights of things. If its practicability admitted of any doubt, that was overbalanced by the hope that it would, at all events, prove an useful experiment for the human race; a lesson to despots, and an example to people.

On this occasion, as on all others, once that my mind had been made up on a subject, I discovered arguments to answer all objections, and resources to overcome all difficulties, so that I never after could be said to take a fair view of the matter. Every thing appeared to me through that favourable medium, that prevented me from seeing many of those defects that are very visible to men of an ordinary capacity.

One of the failings of a sanguine and impatient man is, to be unable to hear patiently the arguments on the other side of the question. In the House of Commons, necessity indeed obliged me to submit to that, though often with great pain, which was in some degree alleviated, by the pleasure and anxiety of preparing my mind for a reply; but, I confess, I never could submit to the torture of reading the severe philippics of my former friend, the great and profound Edmund Burke, on the French Revolution.

In short, I would listen to nothing that blackened my favorite system, and in place of seeing its faults (as radical defects never to be overcome) my mind was insensibly and constantly occupied in devising means for avoiding the errors into which the French, soon after they began, were perpetually falling.

I praised the French Revolution, and the principles on which it began, and gave to the constitution of 1789 (as it was called) the epithet of "The most glorious fabric ever erected by human wisdom," yet this was long after the French themselves found it altogether impracticable; and after those men who had framed it, had either fallen victims to the revolution, or had joined in overturning and in execrating the work that they had made.

To me, the fabric still glittered like a palace of diamonds in an Arabian tale—to those who had a nearer, or a less prejudiced view, it appeared in all its real deformity.

I was mistaken, but I was not so wilfully, nor did I wish to mislead, but unfortunately what I said was publicly in the face of all Europe, and on a subject in which the whole world was interested; so that even if I had been so inclined, I scarcely could retract.—My error not only was too great and too public, but it was committed too late.—I should have known better.—It was easier and more agreeable to me to think and to prove, that all the world was wrong, than to acknowledge so egregious an error, which in fact I did not see myself. You all know how I persisted, but my difficulty is to explain to my own mind, how *you* continued in the error also.

I never considered myself as accountable for differing from others on any political subject, but I always meant to be consistent with myself, and if I had perceived that the French constitution of 1789, was in many things in direct contradiction to the principles established, at our glorious revolution of 1688, (that is to say, the Whig principles to which I professed to adhere to the day of my death,) I should not have granted it my unlimited approbation; but this never occurred to me, and perhaps it has not occurred to any of you, yet nothing is more evident, nothing is more certain. As perhaps I helped to lead you wrong, I shall now endeavour to shew you in what my error lay.

The French constitution excluded all the ministers of the executive power from seats in the legislative assembly; this was in direct contradiction, not only to the practice, but to the principle established in England; it was in fact not establishing a controuling, but a counteracting an unfriendly, and a hostile principle, contrary to all good government, the basis of which is in control, but not in counteraction.

The abolition of all distinction of ranks, was also made a fundamental principle, or, as they termed it, a constitutional article.

This left out the practicability of a controling power of any sort, like our House of Lords.

The absurdity of declaring the inherent right of the people to rebel, and then fixing the manner in which that rebellion was to take place, exceeded every thing that mankind had yet imagined of the preposterous, but still that had no effect on my mind, I was resolved to be blind to every error, and so I did remain.

Were not the days of flattery, (as well as of treating a grave subject with levity) over, I should thank you, my lords and gentlemen, for keeping my company, when I was so far bewildered: I believe your compliance and your confidence were so great, that had I gone farther still, if that had been possible, I should have still had company.

But, as I told you, with me the days of fashion and flattery are over, let me in sincerity ask ye, if interest had not some influence on your conduct? That a madman like Hamlet, should see a weazle in the clouds is likely enough, but that he should find a hundred, like Polonious, to see it too, looks strange. I am afraid all was not downright sincerity.

I cannot equally well account for my encouragement of the populace in Palace-Yard, or my inexcusable insolence to the best of sovereigns. But those acts followed, you may say, of course. If they did it was a bad course, but I must be true now, and tell you that I was become desperate from disappointment, and did not much care what happened.

My journey to Paris, is another circumstance that demands explanation, but that task is not so difficult.

Curiosity to see a city that had gone through such a change, and a people who had suffered so much, and displayed such energy, was a great motive, in my mind, it was a sufficient reason without any other, but I had others, and I must tell them.

I thought that I might gain some knowledge of the court of France, by means of my old friend Talleyrand, that would, on some future day, raise me into importance; besides, I longed once more to be talked of, and to be gazed at by the multitude. I had some other reasons of a private nature, but of no importance to be known.

In none of those views was I mistaken; but they are in an error, who think that I supposed Bonaparte could like, or even esteem a Whig, or a democrat, or any lover of liberty. I never did expect that, but I thought it was his interest to appear to do so, and I knew it was necessary for me to seem to think him sincere.

We both acted our parts well. I bowed to despotism (personified in Napoleon Bonaparte) and he bowed to English liberty, in the person of Mons. Fox, the English patriot, the people's man.

I now beg pardon of all those APES who followed me in good faith, (and who did not see that we were acting a farce) for the silly part I led them on the stage to perform. The emperor was cold to all, impatient of the ceremonials, and could scarcely contain his disgust. All this I plainly saw, for in this I was not so easily deceived, as in my own conduct respecting the revolution.

I need take no notice of my constant adherence to my old system, but I feel much regret at two circumstances, to which I was led by that unfortunate impetuosity, that I never could subdue, and which only left me when on the bed of death.

The two circumstances to which I allude are, the readiness with which I spoke of a degraded ministry, the moment Lord Melville was voted to be in fault; thereby including Mr. Pitt, and all his colleagues, (without examination) in the supposed culpable act of one. This was highly wrong, and few circumstances of my life have, on reflection, given me more uneasiness and pain; for though I eagerly, and with no very good

grace, did retract next day, with the addition of a high compliment to Mr. Pitt, yet that did not satisfy my own mind. I had in the moment of triumph been unjust, and that was enough to occasion bitter reflections.

The other act was, when a message came down that Mr. Pitt was not able to attend the House from illness, and the matter intended was requested to be delayed for a few days. I rose and expressed, or rather insinuated, that fear, not sickness, kept the minister away. This was only about thirty-six hours before that great man was no more, and when it was known all over the metropolis that his life was in imminent danger. This was a triumph over a falling foe, for which I never can forgive myself; though I certainly did not know the full extent of the malady, yet I well knew it was not *fear* that kept the minister away.

When I once got into office my mind changed, and I saw through another medium such objects as were brought before me. I had not time for reflection, else, perhaps, I might have opened my eyes with regard to the revolution, but when I got into place my errors were over, and my career was short. My chief fear then was, that Mr. Percival hould have called to mind, my late mention of my being erased from the list of His Majesty's Privy Council.

This must have hurt me, and was a blow I could not have parried gracefully, sitting on the ministerial bench; but I believe with all his browbeating, he was too good-natured to make so personal an attack, though it would have been perfectly fair, and I frequently expected it. Had my ill-timed insolence not been of so late a date, I should not have cared, but it was recent: it was at the very moment I was attempting to storm the cabinet of the sovereign, that I boasted of the honour of being erased from His Majesty's Councils, into which, not by my exertions, but by the death of Mr. Pitt, I did so soon after enter.

If I disappointed those who expected that I would act when a minister, as I had done when in opposition, it was no more than ought to have been expected. Popularity is the treasury on which opposition depends for the ways and means, and popularity is only to be gained by promises and opposing ministers, whether they are right, or whether they are wrong. Now, as a minister, I had another, and better a treasury, so that I no longer had occasion for popularity, which, indeed, if I had wanted, I could NOT have obtained.

Had I remained on earth, I did, however, intend to do, (or at least to attempt to do) many good services to my country. You, on the contrary, went to work, (I will not say how far wrongly, but I am certain) madly and ignorantly.

Did you expect to conquer the firmness of his Majesty? If you did, you knew him not. He has no great objection to see places and pensions given to men, who, a few years ago, were more likely to have had the pillory, but his religious principles are to him inviolable. I should never have permitted the agitation of the question, or if I had done so, I should have done it openly and boldly. The attempt was mad, the manner was mean and wicked. Instead of such an absurd measure, after having obtained that glorious point, the abolition of the slave trade, I had determined to see what could be done for the country; to hear with patience the suggestions of all, and to try a those that I thought deserved a trial.

In France, they have a sort of board or committee, composed of men of abilities, who receive all proposals, and after having considered them, give laconically their opinion, in laying them before the minister, not with the formality of your reports in Eng-

land (much less with that surly supercilious behaviour to the modest man of genius who proposes a scheme, a plan, or an invention, that is practiced with you) but it is fairly examined, and the person proposing has full liberty and is encouraged to explain the advantages, which are fairly and candidly laid before the minister, in whose department it is, whether of war, finance, law, general purposes, foreign affairs, manufactures, or agriculture.

The inventor is rewarded by being employed, or otherwise, according to the nature of the plans, and as this is generally known to be the case, the whole genius of the nation is brought into play.

In England you act otherwise; every man who proposes a project, is treated as an impertinent fool. He has great difficulty of obtaining attention, and if he is poor, the expence of waiting is more than he can bear. When he has given in a good plan, it is generally laid aside till the proposer is tired, and then it comes forward from the treasury, the war department, &c. in the most mean, unjust and shameful way. The French have more liberality to men of genius, than our countrymen, who speak always of value received, and who consider nothing to be of value, that is not visible or tangible.

In arts, and manufactures, you excel all nations, because the law of patents, and the encouragement that excellence of workmanship or produce obtains, secures the inventor a reward; but in public affairs you are far behind, and every day becoming worse, for your expences increase beyond belief, and all the money goes, as it were, for half what it is worth.

In England, genius gets no public encouragement, and there is no remuneration or reward for service performed, if there is any possible means of evasion. I would have remedied this, and prevented it from being said in future, that the only way for a man, without interest, to get money from the English government, is to commit a crime, and then the criminal is provided for at the public expence.

I had other reforms in view, but they were of a practical, not of theoretical nature, I meant a reform in the civil law, with regard to debts, a reform in the collection of tythes, and the improvement of common lands, to increase the population and internal resources of England, and better the situation of the poor.

But, alas! what are the plans of mortals? Through my whole life I planned and laboured in vain, and may say with the patriarch whose years I did not half attain. "Few and evil have the days of thy servant been, I have not seen three score, and never knew one happy day."

C. J. FOX.

Shades, April 20, 1808.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC QUESTION.

As the persons who are bringing forward, and those who instigate and encourage them, know perfectly well that they cannot succeed, they must have some other view, than that which appears on the face of the business.

We have no hesitation in saying, that they have the double view, of taking the attention of ministers from other business of importance, and of exciting discontent amongst the people of Ireland.

Whatever may be the ultimate view and expectation, these certainly are consequences, that are seen and sought for, and Bonaparte could not himself wish for a better, or more efficient co-operation.

Equality in matters of religion, we have already proved, could not exist. Toleration is all that is practicable; and it is

ot necessary again to go over the same arguments, but we may do some service by placing the matter in another point of view.

When the French reformers began the revolution under the appearance of liberality, and freedom from all sorts of religious prejudice, they attempted to put all religions upon a footing of equality: whether or not they foresaw that the consequence would soon be that there would be no religion, it is not easy to say, but that certainly was the consequence; and in the first part of the reign of Robespierre there was, literally speaking, no religion in France.

That horrible despot, in the midst of all his crimes, felt, that in point of religion, matters had been carried too far, and that a predominant national religion was necessary. Accordingly, one of his last public of his life acts was, that of destroying Atheism, and restoring religion.

Bonaparte has all along acted on the same plan, he affects to be very attentive to religious duties, but he has never attempted to do any thing more than tolerate other religions except the Roman Catholic.

Practicability is a main consideration in every possible scheme, and we have proved equality to be impracticable; yet, at the same time, Mr. Grattan says, "equality is what the Catholics want," that "nothing less will satisfy them." So that, in fact, they want what is impracticable, and what therefore they cannot possibly have.

But this is not all.—The persons who bring forward the Roman Catholic question at this time, know perfectly well that they are bringing forward what cannot succeed; that they may excite disturbance and discontent, but that the professed object cannot at this time be attained; the attempt is therefore one of the most insidious that can be conceived, whether considered as it regards the sovereign, the legislature, or the Catholics themselves.

Surely the persons who thus try to excite discontent, to bring about disunion, and interrupt the important national business, that should at this time be dispatched, must be ignorant of the evil they are about; they cannot surely be traitors, and intend to ruin the nation.

Perhaps, they think, that the national spirit is so great, and its force so immense, that nothing can daunt the former, or destroy the latter, but they may be mistaken. Let them recollect the late conduct of General Whitelock. He despised the enemy, and thought that the valour and spirit of the British troops would do without care, attention, or good generalship. In short, he humoured his own pride at the expence of his army, and it has cost dear to his army, to his country, and to himself. Those who gratify party views, at the expence and risque of their country, may, when too late, repent, as the disgraced degraded general does now.

Let them reflect on the difference between the haughty general, at the head of his troops, who would not ask advice, and to whom no man dared to offer it, and the same man shedding tears before a court, composed of brave officers, and a number of indignant and humiliated spectators; let them, we say, reflect on this change, and think how it will be when the banditti hords of France land on the shores of Erin, with the shout of catholic emancipation, copied from those who now insult the nation with the sound.

The wheel of fortune, revolves with nations as with individuals, and if the motion is less rapid, it is also more steady and certain, and the dangerous day will and must come; but woe unto those who hasten its approach, by magnifying evils and stirring up discontent!

Britain and Ireland are at this time the only two happy and free countries on the face of the earth, and at the same time that

they are happy and free, their happiness and freedom are assailed in a most serious manner, by the whole Continent in arms.

It is a singular moment to choose for altering the situation of the Catholics, even if t were a decided point that it could be done with future advantage; for as there are some great obstacles at the moment, the advantage cannot be immediate, although it may be realized in time perhaps, and even that is a question.

Of all religions that exist, the Roman Catholic religion is the most unfriendly to a government that is not Roman Catholic itself; for though it may be allowed that the church of Rome is not what it was, with respect to intolerance, two hundred years ago, yet it is still intolerant—nay, what is more, it is *essentially* intolerant, and will cease to exist when it ceases to consider those of the Protestant religion with a favourable eye.

It will scarcely be believed, but it is a fact, that the French clergy, who emigrated to this country, considered us as not being Christians. This arose partly from ignorance, and partly from a sort of contempt that they entertained for the Protestants, whom they considered as inferior beings.

These pretendedly liberal minded men, who, (in imitation of Voltaire and the modern philosophers) attributed so much bloodshed to the Christians, must allow that it is to the Roman Catholic Christians, and not to the Protestants, that the bloodshed and persecution is to be attributed; and we must allow that the Catholics without power, and possessed of power, are very different.

In the days of Elizabeth, the Catholics in England were much more numerous than in the short reign of James II.; yet during the former long reign, where they had no power or preponderance, they were all submission and humility; but a century after, though greatly diminished in numbers and respectability, they no sooner found a sovereign to protect them, than they drew at once the persecuting sword. Such is the the nature of the Roman Catholics, and such will always be the practice, let Lord Fingal and his companions think what they please.

It is to be hoped, that when the business comes before parliament, the MOTIVES, VIEWS and EXPECTATIONS, of those who urge the question forward, at a time when they know that there is no chance of success, and that the agitation of the question must be attended with discontent; we say that it is to be hoped, the question will be taken up in this manner, as that is a much more simple way of viewing it, than to enter into the merits of the case at large, which is extremely difficult and complicated, as has already been shewn, the catholics aiming at what it is not practicable to attain, and what, if it were practicable, would be attended with great danger to the country.

[*To be continued.*]

THE LITERARY FUND.

Continued from page 123.

THE general outlines of this Institution are the most admirable that can be conceived.

The contribution is voluntary the funds are managed by persons who officiate without interest, fee, or reward, and the objects relieved, always have more or less merit to entitle them to a claim.

This, certainly, is the best way to make a small sum go a great way.; but, alas! the sum is quite inadequate, even with gratuitous management, strict integrity, and all contempt for ostentation or parade. It is now twenty-eight years since the project was formed, and eighteen since it began to

be executed, and the annual revenues, as far as we can understand the accounts, do not amount to a clear sum of £ 1,000 a year ! !

The existence of the Institution is as honourable to those who promoted it, as the smallness of the revenue is *disgraceful to the British Nation.*

We do not pretend to paint with a delicate pencil; we treat on objects of importance, and we wish to do it in a manly and independent way, and we say that the smallness of the funds are a *disgrace to the country.*

Had David Williams, Esq. never formed the plan, or had it been buried in oblivion for want of a little aid at first, then there might have been no cause of reproach; it would have been one of those evils that arise from want of proper information on the subject, but this is not the case, the public is not ignorant.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, is the *Patron* and *chief Benefactor*, two of his ROYAL BROTHERS, and a number of the FIRST NOBLEMEN in the KINGDOM, and about SEVEN or EIGHT HUNDRED GENTLEMEN, subscribe so that the Institution is known, but it is not encouraged as it ought to be in England, a country raised by men of letters, above every other country.

Let us think on the great Lord Bacon, when he had lost his fortune, (his fame he could not lose) sending to Lord Brook for a draught of small beer, which that lord refused, and we shall be able to appreciate the pity excited by merit, when it sinks to indigence *.

As we find fault with the public, it is but fair that we should state what we think should be done.

In the first place, men of letters ought, when in good circumstances, to contribute regularly and largely to the fund, for whatever merit they may have that does not entitle them to squander away property, and then apply to the public for relief; they ought then to become a regular body, like actors, musicians, or artists of any description, who associate in order to make the overflowings of plenty alleviate the miseries of want. Insurance societies and benefit clubs are amongst the best inventions of man; they blunt the arrows of fortune, and deprive her of her triumph over improvidence or disease.

As the Literary Fund pays no regard to the political opinions of those whom it relieves, it never can be made an engine inimical to government, but if government were to aid it, all men of letters would applaud the aid, and the poor unfortunate men of letters are masters of public opinion, the value of which is greater than is generally imagined.

Augustus, Lewis XIVth, Frederick of Prussia, and all those sovereigns who have set much value on reputation, encouraged and rewarded men of letters. Had Lewis XVIth, and his ministers acted in the same way, it is probable they would not have suffered so severe a fate.

Next to government, we would have public bodies, and privileged companies to contribute, and lastly such individuals as are at their ease.

Without men of letters, the fire engines of Watt and Bolton, Arkwright's spinning machines, and the numerous inventions that enrich the country, would have been unknown or never brought to perfection.

We think the newspapers should insert the advertisements gratis, only paying the duty, and if a few of the clergy, were to mention the institution from the pulpit, they would do well.

Let us only consider the immense sums lavished on universities and institutions, for

* Lord Brook lived where Brook-street Holborn now is, and the great Lord Bacon used in his latter days to pass much time in the gardens of Gray's Inn; it was from a seat there, on the east side, where the new buildings are erected, that he sent to Lord Brook for beer, but, alas! to him that brook was dry.

rearing men of letters, and compare that with the scanty, the miserable aid, that by private exertion has been obtained for those who have fallen victims to a mistaken, (or if not to a mistaken,) at least to an unfortunate devotion to the study of literature.

The following words, written by William Thomas Fitzgerald, Esq. and composed by William Shield, Esq. musician in ordinary to his majesty, are very descriptive.

When warm with hope, in life's aspiring morn,
The tints of fancy ev'ry scene adorn;
The glowing landscape charms the poet's view,
And youth believes the fairy prospect true.

But soon experience proves his eye betray'd,
And all the picture darkens into shade;
The nobler fervour of his early days,
His thirst of fame, his love of honest praise.

All that could make his ardent mind aspire,
And kindle fair ambition's sacred fire!
Like fleeting visions of the heated brain,
Dissolve in poverty and end in pain.

But the warm beams your patronage bestows
Shall dissipate at once the Muse's woes:
Raise to bright hopes, and stimulate to fame,
The bard, who else had died without a name.

We cannot, however, help observing, that the over modesty of those who conduct this institution, is a very material disadvantage to it, because it has prevented them from making their claims on the country known.

As we have no concern with the business, and neither ask their advice nor approbation, (which, perhaps, if we did ask they might not give,) we shall do our best to make these claims known in plain language, that every one may understand; for though we do not consider literary men fall into distress without blame (sometimes,) yet it is hard that for vice, ignorance, and even for crime, there should be a provision made, which is refused even to merit, learning, and genius. The founder of this institution verifies the lines of the poet:

Who builds a church to God and not to fame
Will never mark the marble with his name.

[*To be continued.*]

To the EDITOR of ANTICIPATION.

April, 18, 1808.

Sir,

In your first number, you say, "To point out the modes of meliorating the situation of the people, and of augmenting the resources of the country, will be one of the principal objects of Anticipation;" and you thereby naturally write the opinions of your fellow countrymen, upon points wherein they think they can aid your praiseworthy intentions. Accepting your invitation, if the following thoughts upon a subject, which has been sometime in my mind, deserve a place in your paper, they are much at your service.

Although I rejoice in improvements, and am glad to see those prejudices removed which fetter the mind, yet I behold some ancient customs destroyed with much regret; had I power, before I annihilated an ancient ordinance because some abuses had crept into it, I would try whether those abuses could not be remedied, and whether an ancient usuage might not be preserved with a little repair; for you must know I have a very good opinion of the wisdom of our ancestors upon many points of high importance, and more particularly upon religious subjects. Religion ought to be the great animating principle of mankind; the soldier, the sailor, the statesman, all of them perform their duty better *who are seriously impressed with the vital truths of it* Our ancestors thought so, and provided sufficient spi-

ritual assistance for the brave men who defend our country, whether doing their duty at home or abroad. A great change has taken place; the old chaplains of the army are abolished, and no proper substitutes provided; fleets and armies go out upon the most important expeditions, without any one whose official duty it is to remind both the soldier and the sailor, that it is the great power from above that must give effect to their endeavours.

In our extensive possessions in India, where there are not less than twenty thousand British troops, I am told there are not half a dozen officiating clergymen. Even at home in the garrison of the capital of the British empire, there is no place of worship for the soldiers to assemble in. The Articles of War require soldiers to go to church—how can this be, that they should be broken under the eye of the best and most religious sovereign in Europe?

There was an old place fitted up some time ago in a wretched part of the town, but it soon became so ruinous as to be abandoned; and it is now necessary to keep some of the soldiers under arms during divine service, to prevent their wandering about the streets. A regiment upon its march halts in any country-town where it happens to be, and goes to church with becoming decency and military parade, and a fine and cheering sight it is to the people who behold it. Why not have the same sight with tenfold effect in London? What a glorious appearance it would be to see four or five thousand men go together to adore their Creator and Benefactor, and to lift up their voices in his praise! I verily believe it would be one means to mend the morals of the people; for by humbly endeavouring to make ourselves more acceptable in the eyes of the Almighty, he may be the more graciously inclined to stretch out his omnipotent arm to save us in this time of our great necessity. Whitehall has been spoken of as fit for the purpose, and it would surely be better employed than it is at present, being a neglected place of worship, with a congregation sometimes of not more than twenty or thirty people.—But if any difficulties should arise from its particular destination, at some seasons of the year, a new chapel might be erected i some convenient situation.

I shall only add a few words more respecting chaplaincies. It seems, upon the old footing, they were either sinecures, or the duty ill performed. This probably was owing to the small encouragement for men of respectable character to accept the office. Let that objection be done away by making handsome appointments, and after a certain number of years service, let there be a comfortable annuity, until they should be otherwise provided for by government.

A LAYMAN.

ASYLUM FOR FEMALE SERVANTS, FOR THE PRESERVATION OF VIRTUE.

Continued from page 110.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION

SIR,

As you were so obliging as to insert my first letter concerning the Female Asylum, I now forward another, and shall therein enter a little more minutely into particulars, which, for brevity's sake, were then only given in general terms.

As far as I can judge from a second perusal of the proposal in page 29 and 30, it is merely intended as a cheap *lodging* house, and to avoid the dangers of bad company; but I shall take the liberty of suggesting an idea, which has just occurred to me, and which I hope to see adopted in the prospectus, because it is not my intention to write another letter on the subject until the outlines appear.

I cannot resist the present conviction, that there ought to be connected with this Asylum, a *respectable register-office*, where good servants might have the best chance of finding good masters and mistresses, and the contribution of half a guinea per annum, to this Asylum, should preclude all charges at the register-office, for a certain number of entries on the register book, annually. Half a crown from upper servants, and a shilling from those in inferior stations, should give them *annual* claim on the book. I would not let it be absolutely gratuitous, but this small sum would pay a clerk for entering the name, and giving them reference to places *known* to be vacant.

I am firmly of opinion that this would destroy much *iniquity*, and extortionate demands from servants.

In the *same edifice* where this office be kept, there *might* be another institution of *great utility* to *females* in London, and that is an *eating*-house on *cheap* terms: in which there should be a room appropriated exclusively to the discarded servants resident at the Asylum. The other apartments to be open to *all females* who could bring vouchers, in the *first instance*, of their being in some way of *virtuous* employment, and surrendering from their employers a weekly ticket, with *his* or *her* signatures, avowing responsibility for payment of a sum sufficient to furnish three or six dinners. Thus women belonging to manufactories might enjoy more comforts than they now do, and be kept greatly out of the way of mischief. They might have plain wholesome boiled or roast meat, hot or cold, at less expence, and much less trouble, than they now have to procure those essentials of comfort.

Improper language being used by those who resort to this house, if persisted in after admonition to the contrary, should become a barrier to future admission.

There might be three or four of these eating houses and register-offices established in different parts of the town, each connected in some degree with the Asylum; but that nearest to the Asylum, (wherever it may be situated) should be *first* opened by way of experiment, and I really think, it would answer extremely well in respect to emolument being derived from that source.

In short, Sir, I am well satisfied that the projected Asylum has great *capabilities* of good; but if I frankly tell you my mind, I fear that the spirit of public virtue is too languid, or the vital influence of Christianity, a due sense of Christian obligations, has made too little impression on the heart, to afford reasonable expectation that *all* its capabilities will be brought into action and accomplished. Still I hope and think there will be *some*; and this I look for *chiefly*, but not entirely, from the zeal and exertions of the *middle* orders of society.

If these suggestions did *not* form part of Mr. W. 'P's original plan, and I am much inclined to think they did not; (but in most cases two heads are better than one) I hope he will deem them worthy of adoption, more especially the *Register-Offices*.

If he *did* think of them, I rely on his candour to excuse the *Anticipation* thereof, because it is casual, not arising from any hints which he has thrown out in either of the columns of his letter. I certainly do anticipate in mind, and of course could state to the minds of others, several proposals he will offer respecting this institution; but I should consider it a trespass on the law of decorum, or of that civility due from one gentleman to another, and, therefore, an action which may be justly deemed reprehensible as proceeding from arrogance or conceit, were I to offer my ideas by way of *prospectus* to explain his plan. That, Sir, is the province of the gentleman who suggested it; and I hope to see it, either annexed to this letter, or a promise that it shall *speedily* appear. Enough, however, has already

appeared to induce satisfaction in the public mind, that it is worthy of patronage; and the particulars (as I said in my former letter) may be gradually developed week after week, with such additions or improvements, as shall, from time to time, be found expedient.

If, Mr. Editor, the scheme be *not* your own, I hope that these two letters will stimulate your correspondent to *appear without delay*.

I do not pledge myself to write another letter because it may not be requisite; but if I see fair occasion for further observations probably you will again be requested, as you now are, to insert a letter from,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

Sunday Evening, W. P. R.
April 17, 1708.

We have always a wish that ideas should be thrown out, that they may be improved; and of consequence, the plan of the Register-office and Eating-house is given as it was received. The intentions of our correspondent are undeniably excellent; but we shall, in our next, give reasons for not approving of the Eating-house at all, and we mention it now, that it may not be thought we approve of it; but we should do wrong if we deprived the public of the plan as it is; for we do not pretend to say this is good or this is bad, we will suppress this and publish that. No: if a plan is well intended, and cannot do harm, though we may not like it, the public should have an opportunity of judging.

OF THE POOR's RATE.

Amongst the interior causes that threaten England with decline, none is more alarming than the increasing expences of the poor; expences evidently rising in a proportion beyond our prosperity, and totally without example, either in the history of past time, or in that of any modern nation.

The poor of England cost more to maintain than the *free revenue* of the country amounted to 30 years ago, and to nearly three times the amount of the whole revenues of the nation, at the time of the revolution.

The proportion between the healthy and the sick cannot have changed so much, as to account for this augmentation; we must, therefore, seek for the cause elsewhere.

It probably arises from several causes; the increasing luxury, which leaves more persons in indigence when they come to an advanced age, owing to their being unwilling or unable to undergo the hardships to which nature subjects those who had been born to labour, and outlive those vigour; being thereby deprived of those indulgences which, in better days, they have experienced.

In England, menial servants are accustomed to consume more than people of moderate fortune do in other countries, and they are the race of people most likely to be left in penury in their old age. In countries where there are, indeed, greater trains of menial attendants than in England, they, in general, belong to the great, who make some provision for them, or who, (keeping them from ostentation) can retain them to a more advanced age; and, at all events, as they live a less luxurious life, they can make a better stand against that penury which it is their hard destiny in age to encounter.

In a commercial country there is less attachment between master and servant, than in any other; and the instances of provision being made for them are very rare.

In proportion as a nation gets wealthy, the human race shares the same fate with brute animals employed in labour; they are worked hard and well fed while they are able to work, but their services are not regarded when they can do but little.

Want of economy in the management of the funds, destined for the purpose of their maintenance, is another cause of increase in the expence of the poor. In a nation, where every individual is fully occupied with his affairs, and has little time to attend to any thing else, those who manage the affairs of the poor, find that few are inclined to look close into matters, and fewer still have the means of doing it if they would; so that abuses increase as is always the case, when there is no counteracting check to keep them within bounds.

Another cause, no doubt, is that, as the number of unproductive labourers increase, great numbers of childrea are left in want.

To all those causes we must add the increase of towns, and the decrease of hamlets and villages. Towns are the places where indigence has the greatest consolation, and where the relief which is held out is attended with the least degree of humiliation and reproach.

When we compare the cases of England and Scotland, the causes cannot be doubted; for there servants live harder—the working class do not labour so hard—are not so soon worn out—neither have the towns increased so much at the expence of hamlets and villages.

The greatest of all the causes of the increase of poor, however, arises from taxation and rent. It has been observed, in the chapter on taxation, that, for a certain length, taxes and rent are productive of industry, and that at last they finish by crushing it entirely.

The manner that this happens, is, that long before a country is as highly taxed as the majority of its inhabitants will bear, those who are the least able to pay are crushed, and reduced to absolute poverty.

There are two causes which may render a person unable to support the burden of taxation: the one is, having a great family; the other is, being able to gain but little from weakness, or some other cause; and there are two causes that tend to produce the same effect; though they operate separately, they must, of course, sometimes act in conjunction.

The weakest part of society gives way first, in every country; and, on account of the arbitrary and ignorant, through lavish method of relieving that portion of society in England, the evil is increased to more than double.

There is no relief at home in their own houses, no help, no aid, for the indigent, which might produce so admirable an effect, by counteracting the ruin brought on by heavy taxes and high prices: no; the family must support itself, or go wholesale to the workhouse. This is one of those clumsy rude modes of proceeding that a wealthy people, not overburthened with knowledge, naturally takes to overcome a difficulty, but without care or tenderness for the feelings of those relieved, or that regard for public interest, which ought to go hand in hand. For this it would be well to search a remedy.

A father and mother, and six children, will cost, at least, fifty pounds a year in a workhouse; but, perhaps, the aid of twelve or fifteen pounds would keep them from going there, and by that means save the greatest part of the money, while the country, which loses their industry, would be doubly a gainer.

There are a sort of rough, vulgar, and unfeeling character, prevalent amongst the parish officers, that is a disgrace to the country and to the character of Englishmen. It is highly prejudicial to the nation; and, if there were no moral evil attending it, if the feelings of the poor were no object, the rich ought to attend it for self interest. If they will not, the government of the country is interested, both in honor and in interest, to do so.

Exemption from taxes will do little or nothing: the lower orders are nearly all exempt, but that general dearness, that is

the consequence of a general weight of taxes is severely felt by them, and from that they cannot be exempted. They must get relief by assistance, and that assistance ought to be given in a manner that will not throw them altogether a burthen on the public.

It is impossible to tax the people of a nation so highly as they can all bear, because, before some will feel, others will be crushed; before the bachelor feels the tax, the father of a large family is obliged to starve his innocent offspring. Before he who has only two children feels the hard pressure, the family of twelve will be reduced to want; and so in proportion. The mode, then, to raise the most money possible, would be to tax the whole nearly as high as the bachelor can bear, and then to give a drawback in favour of the man with the children, they would then be on a perfect equality as to taxation, and the highest sum possible might be raised, without hurting any one portion of the people more than another.

[*To be continued.*]

ASSESSED TAXES and COLLECTORS.

To the EDITOR of ANTICIPATION.

Sir,

I see, with astonishment, that petitions are about to be presented to Parliament by the Collectors of Taxes, because they are like every other person, to see a diminution in their yearly profits, or income.

In times past, those collectors consisted of honest unfortunate tradesmen, so chosen to keep their families from becoming a burden to the parish; and in so doing, the vestries were acting with economy and humanity toward their parishioners in adversity, who often, by having a large family and sickness, &c. found themselves overcome, after every effort, care, and economy, owing to the size of the family.

The unfortunate state of Europe for many years, has unavoidably brought on burdens on this whole nation. The taxes have necessarily increased, and the country bears them with a patience that does the character and the loyalty of the English people at large very great credit.

We all know the times are altered, the parish-vestry changed from good-will towards unfortunate parishioners, to total neglect, and even to corruption and abuse. These vestries now strive who shall be collectors, the parish is canvassed, the vestries corrupted to place men in the midst of plenty into that office, which ought to be given to those who could fill it much better, and save them and family from becoming chargeable to the parish, Collectors would not then be so very impertinent, because they have sometimes the trouble of calling twice, having no other business to attend to. By the corruption of the vestry, the present collectors watch and teaze the industrious housekeeper like a cat with a mouse, and like the hare with the hounds at her tail. From these men who know the use of money there is no rest.

The greatest evil is in appointing these men, who are so very desirous of becoming collectors. Even if they do not discount with the money, until wanted to pay the commissioners, it is certain they profit, in some way other, by making use of the money, not intended by government, and if properly looked into, they are, in general, the very men who the advertizing money-lenders have always as a secret friend to apply to. Their petitions will be vexatious to the country at large. I hope Mr. Perceval will use his usual firmness and resist them.

No. 21, *King-Street*, T. R.
April 20, 1808.

ARMY AGENTS.

We already gave it as our decided opinion that the alteration of army agency, from the particular agents to a general office, would be attended with great inconvenience to a number of individuals, without being productive of any advantage to the public.

We have had more communications on that subject than would find room in this paper; we are therefore compelled to be satisfied (and we beg our correspondents to be so to) with saying that they all CONFIRM US IN OUR FORMER OPINION; (that is) that the change would be for the worse.

A public office, compared to private offices, is similar to what a barrel organ, or any other species of mechanical music, is to music performed by a master. The mechanical music may be correct, but there is nevertheless a sameness that is inconsistent with whatever is meant to be EXQUISITE. And pray, Sir, says a querist, what do you mean by exquisite?—Why, if you must know, we mean correctness ameliorated by a *suitability to time, place, and circumstance*—that is, adapted to the nature of the case. The French call it a *je ne scai quoi*; and we, who are not masters of fine technical terms used amongst artists and professional men, have given a plain simple definition of what we think it is.

Let the cognosenti determine between the airs of Madame Catalani and a barrel organ, and the barrel organ will be sure to be in disgrace; or let any barbers boy, shoeblack, or chimney sweep be chosen umpire, between Neel Gow with his fiddle, and the finest organ that ever was framed, and twenty pounds to a hob nail the organ will lose: "and why is this," says the organ? "I play true." "Yes, my dear friend, so you do, but Gow plays better than true, he plays to the purpose, but how can I describe what is beyond description?"

All public offices must be quite correct, in them correctness is perfection, but there are so many imperfections in this world, that, if there were not a way for the wants of man to be supplied, before it could be done in regular order, it would sometimes be too late to do it at all.

See the difference between the stiff formal method of transacting business at the *Bank* of *England*, compared to the method of *private bankers*. The Bank resembles the music grinding organ to a nicety. This is a case in point, and we shall extend our observations farther in our next, but we have said enough to prevent precipitation in altering the present mode, which has many advantages.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE ironical vindication of SINBAD, the SAILOR, is excellent. It came too late, but will be in our next.

The observations on the inequality of the stamp duty on bills and receipts, also in our next.

The vindication of ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq. shall certainly be inserted.—Every man ought to be heard: but we hope this advocate will not make matters worse. Let him remember, that it was Mr. Davison's own pamphlet that did him the most harm. Until Wednesday at twelve o'clock, the manuscript will be returned if called for; if not, we shall let it go to press.

The correspondent signing CERBERUS, no doubt wants a SOP, but we hope he does not want PATIENCE; for if he wants both, he will be a miserable dog indeed. If three heads are better than one, he will understand what we mean.

Printed by W. Glindon, Rupert-street, Haymarket, and published for the Proprietors, 9, Newcastle-street, Strand.

N° 8.

The King and the Country.

Printed by W. GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors 9, Newcastle-Street, Strand,

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

BONAPARTE's POLITICS.

Continued from page 124.

WE are inclined, previous to resuming this subject, to lay before the public the following letter.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I was so much struck with the plan for the ruin of England, which you gave us in your last paper, as being formed by Bonaparte, that if I could believe it certain and authentic, I would propose that a subscription should be made, in order to defray the expence of printing it on a sheet of paper by itself, and distributing it all over the three kingdoms, that could not cost much, and might produce the greatest advantage.

Every volunteer in the kingdom should have one, and one hundred or two hundred should be sent to every parish in England, Scotland and Ireland.

All the bankers, the bank, and public bodies, the India Company, fire offices, &c. should subscribe. All this I mean if the plan is authentic, but you should give the best proof of that.

A TRUE LOYAL ENGLISHMAN.

We thank the true and loyal Englishman for his letter, and in answer say, that such proof as a matter of this kind admits can be given. The person who brought the information from Paris is in town, and is well known, as worthy of confidence, but his name cannot, for evident reasons, be published, and the editor of this paper is ready to make an affidavit before a magistrate, that he has every certainty that the case does admit, and that though the particular articles may not be quite correct, he verily believes that the general plan is positive, and not otherwise than correct, both as to what is already inserted and what follows.

Proof positive cannot, from the nature of the case, be obtained; but we ask, whether the words of Augereau and other generals publicly known, do not correspond entirely with it? We also ask, if Bonaparte's character and his enmity to England, do not give *probability* to the truth? We do not mean to consider probability as proof, but proof, when accompanied by probability, has no occasion to be quite so complete as when it is contrary to probability.

Continuation of the Plan.

At the same time that Napoleon is preparing destruction and desolation for England, he intends, when his hordes of banditti land on her shores, to speak peace and comfort, to promise liberty and happiness till he becomes the master, thinking that Englishmen will obey him, but in that we trust he is mistaken.

A proclamation to the following effect will be issued when he arrives.

"Englishmen!

"The Emperor of the French and of Europe, Napoleon the Great, the father of the people and the scourge of kings, comes as your friend and protector.

"Freedom of worship, security of property, the abolition of taxes, and the restoration of happiness, are the blessings he offers to those who receive him as a friend.

"The world knows how the emperor treats his enemies.

"Englishmen! receive the French as brothers, and their emperor as your father, friend, and deliverer.

"Prosperity and peace to those who listen—death and destruction to those who resist.

"Signed NAPOLEON."

Such is intended to be the bait held out to Englishmen, but we trust it will be held out in vain; for the true intention is in the former resolutions already published, and indeed the whole of Bonaparte's conduct, since he first obtained the command of the army in Italy, to the present day, is a proof that he only flatters till he is the master, and that then he knows nothing but rigour in the extreme.

The disposition to destroy Britain for ever, and to prevent any future rivalship, will be still more evident when we arrive at the end of his plan.

Our informant, (for a particular reason, not necessary to be explained,) asked one of those who seemed to understand best the future plans of Napoleon, whether Ireland would not be well treated? "Ireland!" said the Frenchman. "They are troublesome and difficult to govern; Napoleon encourages them now, but be assured he mortally hates all such as resist authority, and the fate of Ireland is fixed. The youth will be called out as conscripts to serve on the Continent, and 100,000 foreign troops will be quartered on Ireland, and all insurrection or discontent will be punished with instant death. This is the short and simple plan for the Irish; whether they will like it or not, I cannot say, but they will never be consulted that is certain, and men of a mutinous disposition will find Napoleon a severe master."

Such are the plans with respect to Britain

and Ireland, and now comes the ultimate and grand plan of Napoleon.

France shall be the only independent and imperial nation.—No other shall have a marine force, nor be allowed to trade either to Asia or to America. The harbours, internal fortifications, &c. shall be destroyed, so that there shall be universal peace and submission all over the world.

The only great national expence will be the military, to which all surrounding nations shall contribute, and the taxes on the French shall be done away and supplied by duties on trade, all of which will be carried on by the French, and in ships built in France.

The state of mankind will be new, but it will be free from those wars that have always hitherto desolated the world, and whatever the state of other nations may be, that of France (as the great central and imperial nation,) will be such as the greatness of her national character points out and deserves.

Those who recollect the plans of the first revolutionists in 1790, 91, and 92, for an universal republic, will perceive a great similarity between the general tendency then and at present.

The great outline is, that France shall be mistress over all the nations; and as to the form of government, that is an inferior object with them, and indeed we find that whilst they have varied completely in the form, they have preserved a great many of the same projects, that arose during the first effervescence of the most decided democracy.

The vanity of the French, (which always was and always will be their ruling passion, and the secret spring of all their movements) requires that the nation should be held up as the chief, and under that idea they will submit to any inconveniency, but we hope that they will be completely disappointed, if they think they can deceive, or cajole, or delude England.

There are a variety of other parts belonging to this gigantic plan, which we shall give in our future numbers, but the great detail consists in his plans for the execution. What he aims at is extremely simple, being nothing farther than to make France the mistress of the Continent, and to reduce the British Islands to a state of insignificancy.

Whilst all this has long been planned, and the most extraordinary man alive is labouring to put it in execution, we are caballing and intriguing, opposing ministers and sowing dissention in Ireland!! Thi truly is not as it ought to be, but it is surely the case, the danger that may follow is great, the disgrace that is incurred is certain.

[*To be continued.*]

LETTERS

From Old Politicians

IN THE SHADES,

To Young Politicians

IN THE SUN-SHINE,

In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER VI.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. W. PITT, IN THE SHADES—TO THE RIGHT HON. SPENCER PERCEVAL, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

WHEN I quitted the administration of the finances, those who had uniformly and invariably opposed me, had persuaded the nation that I laid on an unnecessary load of taxes, and that I laid them on with an unfeeling hand. The doctrine was popular, and had the effect of greatly increasing the difficulties I had to encounter.

To this difficulty was to be added, that I had adopted two plans, both attended with

immediate burthens, though highly conducive to the future welfare of the nation.

Those two plans consisted in the sinking fund attached to each loan, for paying off the capital borrowed, (which increased the immediate burthen one fifth,) and the finding a great part of the supplies within the year, which was attended with a still farther exertion.

You, sir, have not those difficulties to struggle with. The man who had all my life time opposed me, had a trial of one season, and he began by laying on the taxes more heavily, and with full less feeling than ever I did. Whatever effect this promising and boasting had produced was destroyed in an instant, when he came into action; and as to the sinking fund, and the raising the resources within the year, those measures (of problematical utility in my time,) are now universally approved, and the nation is accustomed to the exertion they require, so that with regard to them also, the difficulty is over.

As I had nearly brought the revenue to equal the expenditure under great disadvantages, you may bring it quite to that point without much difficulty, for there are yet many sources of revenues unexplored, some that I dared not to attempt, and others that I never thought off, but the greatest of all measures in the finance, will be a commutation of those numerous insignificant and oppressive taxes, that fall heavy on the lower orders, for some that may be less vexatious and more productive, and that will fall on the higher classes of society.

It is an indisputable fact, (than which no axiom can be more clear,) that the present disorder already so widely extended, and that menaces the whole of society, falls doubly hard, and does double injury to men of property. Men of no property MAY be injured by revolution and change, but men of property MUST be injured by it, and therefore it is not only fair, but wise, in them to bear the principal burthen. It is owing to a want of that fairness and that wisdom, that the revolution first began in France, and the same cause has extended it over the most part of the Continent of Europe. Let it not be said that the same shall operate in England, for if it does the evil will be much greater, and the shame far greater, for with the vast property accumulated in England, and the example of other nations before its eyes, there will be no sort of excuse.

Of all the taxes that are raised, the tax on income is the least expensive in its collection, and in many cases the fairest. Those on consumption are next, and the last and worst are the assessed taxes, which, though they may seem to have an affinity and sort of similarity to the income tax, are in their nature and principle entirely different, though they are not always so in their operation.

People of large incomes pay largely to the assessed taxes, and so far they seem to resemble the income tax, but a variety of circumstances sometimes subject people of very small incomes to a heavy assessment, which is the most miserable of all conditions, as the tax neither can be evaded by economy (like taxes on consumption,) or paid for from an income that does not perhaps exist, and is therefore a tax that may be said to be attached to the existence of a man, as much as any corporeal defect or inability.

I would then recommend an extension of the income tax, in lieu of the assessed taxes, which, to people who have good incomes and pay the assessed rates, would be but a very small additional burthen, and to those whose incomes are not proportioned to the establishments they are obliged to keep, would be a great relief.

One of the best parts of the financial arrangement in England, has been the avoiding such taxes as subject those contributing

to future debts, which they may be under great difficulty to pay.

The assessed taxes are the only great deviation from this rule, and therefore I think, in many instances, they ought to be repealed.

Taxes on consumption never are levied in the form of a debt; and though the income tax in most cases is, yet it carries with it the certainty of ability to pay.

Such of the assessed taxes as fall on luxuries or on large houses of that description, that the person contributing is a voluntary occupier or possessor, are not exceptionable; but there are persons whose means are very unequal to the expence of the houses they are obliged to occupy, and in such cases, the tax is both oppressive and unjust.

To be concise, I would increase the income tax by a certain scale, after the income amounts to 1500*l*. a year, until at 20,000*l*. it amounted to 20 per cent.

This would produce a great sum; I suppose, at least the sum of 2,000,000*l*. And it is evident, such a change would be fair in its principle.

Extend that tax to all the servants of the India company, or of government, and to all British subjects in *India*, at the same time, see whether itmay not be likewise extended to the natives who enjoy above a certain income.

If the affairs of the territorial possessions of the India company were put on a proper footing, that resource would soon liquidate all the company's debts, and produce a large surplus to government.

This matter is plain, for all the native sovereigns lived in splendour and amassed money, yet the servants of a company of British merchants, find means to administer the affairs, so that there is a deficiency.

It is a well known fact, that Tippoo Saib was reduced to pledge even his favourite children, for the payment of money in 1792, yet he had not only redeemed that dear pledge, but supported his splendour, and amassed a large treasure in less than eight years, and all that with a diminished territory. In the hands of the company debts arise where formerly revenue accumulated, and that under the administration of persons who understand much better how to collect the revenues and encourage the industry of the country, than any prince in India.

There must be some great reason for so prodigious a dilapidation. It is this:

The whole direction and administration of the company is entrusted to men, who, by the nature of the charter, can divide no more than a certain sum annually, if the affairs are managed to the greatest advantage; and who may divide, and do divide, the same sum, when the affairs are managed to a loss; but it so happens that those same persons, by patronage, can greatly benefit themselves, or their relations.

I care not in what form advantage is derived; whether in the form of a dividend, a bribe, or a place for a friend, provided it is an unfair advantage. Now, Sir, the directors and proprietors of the India company, cannot increase their dividends one single shilling by any thing they can do; but the patronage may be increased, and it is of much more value than the interest of the stock, even if that were all clear gain.

Let the dividends rise or fall according to the profits, as in other affairs, and as the nature of things requires, and you will soon see a surplus of revenue in India.

I do not blame the directors but the charter granted by government, therein lies the radical evil.

Another fair source of revenue would be the bank paper, and the paper of the private bankers; for since payments in specie were stopt, those persons who issue paper are relieved from an expence of at least *one and an half* per cent. on all the paper they circulate, besides enjoying many advan-

tages that are not necessary to mention, and that do not admit of being easily reduced into a money value.

Those new sources of revenue I estimate thus.

	£
1.—Increased rate of income tax for incomes above £ 1500	2,000,000
2.—Extention of income tax to persons in India	600,000
3.—One and a half per cent. on all paper issued by the public banks and private bankers in Britain	900,000
Present increase of revenue	£ 3,500,000
Add to this the better increase from better administration of India affairs	2,000,000
Total augmentation	£ 5,500,000

This is without having recourse to a tax, that would lay a single penny of additional burthen on the industry of England, and all would be perfectly fair, some of them are even necessary, in order to make the burthens fall where they ought and equally.

The right of coining money is one of the most ancient and general rights that is attached to sovereignty. It is also one of the most ancient sources of the revenue.

It is not a little singular that now, when more gain and advantage is attached to that than at any former period, it has fallen entirely into the hands of individuals. It is true, that so long as promises and not metalic money are to circulate, the responsibility, as well as the detail, would ill suit a government; but let those rest where they are, only let the government participate in the advantage.

Theorists are sometimes at a great loss how to reconcile such interests. Adam Smith, in his book on the Wealth of Nations, considered it is as impossible to reconcile the distribution of justice in the courts with any tax on the individuals who brought causes to be judged, but that has been done in a very simple and effectual manner, by the stamps on law papers, which, though they may prevent people from going so often to law, have no connection whatever with the decisions or administration of justice.

It is to you to develope the resources of the nation, so as to increase its security and strength, without burdening the poor or crushing industry; and I am sorry, that during my time, I embraced too many things, and had not time for investigating every thing that required it. Besides, I did not take that subordinate aid that it behoves every man to take, who is charged with the interests of his country.

Time and *chance* do more in making discoveries than *abilities*, and methods of procuring public revenue (with the greatest ease and advantage from private industry,) are all so many discoveries, few of which I do believe have been made by ministers, and I am afraid that many of those who made them have gone unrewarded and even without thanks.

I shall not enter into other objects. You have got some excellent assistants, and I have no doubt but that the affairs of Britain will prosper in your hands.

France is now making her last effort to ruin England. The national debt, her former ally, is no longer considered as equal to the business. The invasion also is at an end, and the destruction of commerce seems to be the last attempt, but I trust it will be the least successful of the three, for it will most probably injure the Continent more than it will Britain, which has resources that are independent of all connection with the Continent of Europe, that are more than sufficient to enable it to maintain its power and independence during a contest which, from its violence, cannot possibly last for any long period.

The change of policy, after the treaty of

Tilsit, was admirable on the part of Britain. But in proportion as a measure is excellent or necessary, so is the opposition it meets with, both from those who pretend publicly to be the friends, and those who are secretly the enemies of England.

Respecting foreign affairs—towards AMERICA, the government has been *mild*, *moderate*, and *just*—with DENMARK, *bold* and *energetic*, as the occasion required; and with RUSSIA, *firm* and *dignified*, without *acrimony*, *reproach*, or *apology*. In regard to Portugal, Britain has displayed her honour as an ally and an old friend. It is the only remnant that is left, of that sort of good faith and friendship between two governments that conspicuously distinguished the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Britain will yet be the polar star of liberty and of the civilized world. She has a glorious but a very arduous task to perform; however it draws to a close, for mankind are now united in one opinion respecting the disposition of France, and the necessity of embracing with energy and sincerity the first opportunity of throwing off the yoke, and ceasing to submit to the capricious whims and arbitrary orders of one single man.

One word may be necessary in regard to that description of patriots and politicians who condemn every public measure, and are constantly predicting the downfall of England.

Let those men look into the periodical writings of the last century, and they will find that the *national debt*, the *increasing power of the crown*, the *enormity of places and pensions*, the *dearness of provisions*, the *venality of ministers*, and the *same topics* that are so popular now, were equally so nearly at all times—answer opposition by asking them to explain this. Persevere in the good cause, and with unanimity, never fear under the care of providence, of the success of old England, which will ever remain the wish nearest the heart of

WILLIAM PITT.

Shades, April 2, 1808.

LETTER VII.

FROM THE GREAT DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, IN THE SHADES, TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

SIR,

YOUR Royal Highness has been long enough a soldier, to know that it is an art in which there always remains something to learn, you will therefore excuse the liberty of one who can plead seniority, if not merit, as a plea for his requesting a few moments of your attention.

I hope your Royal Highness will not be angry.

I said, "an *older* soldier not a *better*."

Since my time the military tactics of Europe have undergone a considerable *change*. But what is change to a military man? The very foundation of the art military, is to *change* and act according to time, place and circumstance, but far from that, certain nations have converted it into a regular routine, thereby destroying the very first principles on which success depends in military affairs.

Whilst all those who contended adhered equally to a fixted routine, it was very well, they were not injured, (particularly) on either side, and it was quite convenient and agreeable for those who fought; they went into winter quarters at their ease, and a few hard days work served for a whole summer, but when the French with a new energy and their wonted impetuosity, adopted *an entirely* new mode, what in the

name of wonder, made all the powers of Europe persist in a system no longer capable of protecting their armies from ruin or defeat?

Why does man conquer and subdue every other animal, without exception or regard to size, swiftness or strength, but because every animal, man excepted, pursues a certain method of fighting, or if you will, an *instinctive routine*, whilst man, endowed with reasoning powers, varies his mode of fighting, till he finds out a method by which the brute animal following that routine, must certainly be beat?

How was it, that when, to the most common capacity this fact was evident, the commanders who have fought against the French, could not make out a paralel case, so easy to be made out, so visible, and so obvious? I declare my inability to answer this question. With regard to your Royal Highness, I do not, by any means, blame you in particular; on the Continent you were not the first in command, and there only have you yet been a commander.

You know that to be a general, one ought to observe the movements of the enemy, and that success frequently depends on finding out, in a few minutes, a mode of disconcerting, a quite unexpected manœuvre, so that the general must not only have resource in his own mind, but it must be a *ready resource*, and must be regulated by the movements and conduct of the enemy.

The French, when they first began on this revolutionary war, adopted new manœuvres, not for a day or a moment, but to be continued, so that their enemies had time to act in consequence; but they did no such thing, and, with a few exceptions, the old system is adhered to, although it is impossible that it can be attended with success when in opposition to the new one

The general that studies the mode of conquering, founded upon the manner in which his enemy fights, is likely to conquer that enemy, if that enemy adheres to a regular system that is not founded upon the conduct of his adversary; and as this latter has been the case with the allies, they have been beat as regular and as certainly as if they had come into the field with that intention, and expressly for the purpose.

The battles of *Marengo*, of *Austerlitz*, *Jena*, and *Awerstadt*, have all been gained in the same manner, and I may add, they have all been lost in the same manner too, for while the French persisted in their new and successful plan of fighting, their adversaries adhered with wonderful constancy to that mode of warfare, by following which they were certain to be defeated!!

Superior numbers, quick movements, an artillery, numerous and well served, but, above all, the plan of bringing on fresh forces towards the end of the battle, have ensured success to the French on every great occasion.

The French have acted with an astonishing uniformity, but this they have done, because they found the enemies did not attempt to put any scheme or stratagem in practice, to derange it and prevent its success.

The French first succeeded by concentrating their forces, while the others remained dispersed, but nothing would have been more easy than for the allies to have collected and concentrated their forces also, which, had they done, the French method would have been deranged in its grand and main point; but this not only never was executed, it never was attempted.

Your Royal Highness must remember, when you were over in Flanders with the Prince of Cobourg, that whilst you remained nearly together after the taking of Valenciennes, in 1793, you were irresistable; but you seperated from the main body, went to Dunkirk, and there the small division was defeated, while the great body, lay inactive and useless.

In the beginning of the next campaign, while the *Austrians*, *English*, and *Dutch*, remained together, they were so formidable, that the French dared not even to appear: but a diversion was made by them in West Flanders, and the brave *Clarefait* was compelled, by far superior numbers, to retreat, fighting constantly for fifteen days, till the French got into the rear of the English lying at Tournay—then they retreated—the Dutch next retreated—and lastly the great Austrian army. In fact, there were about eighteen thousand men engaged, and one hundred thousand idle on the side of the allies. The French had not a superior army, perhaps scarcely equal, but the greater part were engaged, and those that were left inactive served to occupy the silly Cobourg, that unfortunate commander.

If the disasters of Europe are great beyond example, it is only because the misconduct of those who fight on the right side of the question, *is great beyond example*, and I could easily write to your Royal Highness a thousand pages on this subject, tracing to the same cause, the errors from the attack on the lines of Weisembourg, to the last hostilities, but that would be tedious. It is enough to say, that the French owe their success much more to the imbecility of the enemies than to any merit of their own, for it appears to me that though there was some merit in adopting their successful mode of fighting, there was none in persisting in it so long as they found it successful, but there is great silliness and blame attached to persisting in a plan that is uniformly the cause of defeat.

So far for the conduct in the field; but there is another superiority enjoyed by the French, arising from a practice which it is still more necessary to imitate; that is, the encouragement of merit. I cannot be supposed to be an advocate of the French, from any affection that I bear the nation, but like the Romans, my plan always was to copy from an enemy, whenever I found he had a method of fighting or of acting, that gave him a superiority over me.

I was as fortunate a general as ever went into the field, but I encouraged merit, I had none about my person or entrusted with confidence at the head quarters, who were not capable of performing well what was entrusted to them to do. I did not allow myself to be surrounded by a parcel of young military coxcombs, who lived a life of pleasure, neither did I allow my affairs to be transacted by those subservient flatterers, such as surround the Emperor of Russia and some princes on the Continent.

I had a sufficiently high opinion of myself, (both as a general and a politician) and if success gives a man a right to be vain, few ever had a better than I had: well, then, I was (to tell the truth) a vain man, but in real business I put vanity aside. I liked free discussion—I should, for instance, have preferred the plain manly advice of Sir Ralph Abercrombie to the adulation of fifty officers, who only tried to mislead me by being always of my opinion, that they might sit at my table.

I considered that success was the first and main object—*obtain that, and vanity of course will be gratified, but if you try to gratify vanity, in the first instance, at the expence of success*, you will probably incur mortification and disgrace.

Your Royal Highness will not, I hope, have the vanity to be offended at my giving you this salutary advice—I hope so for the sake of England—to myself it is of no importance.

Whenever any officer at head quarters took upon himself a greater liberty than others of the same age and rank, I immediately put a stop to that. No man in my presence, or in my ante-chamber, ever assumed airs of importance presuming on my

favour; though, like other men, I had my favourites, but they ceased to be such the moment I found they did not deserve it.

The spirit of English officers is admirable, and their skill is greater than it is generally allowed to be; but I am informed that there is some degree of partiality complained of at the office of the commander in chief, and that a certain set of men, not remarkable either for their military skill, or merit of any sort, enjoy a kind of paramount privilege—they are quite at home—whilst others, far superior in every respect, are treated with coolness bordering on indifference and incivility.

I shall not trouble you at great length, but there are some rules so general and unexceptionable, that they may, in all cases, be applied with confidence as a sure guide.

Sincerity should be the basis of every transaction in life; this is a good and unerring rule for all men; for men of high rank and great in authority, particularly the chief of an army, to endeavour to be just and impartial, is the mode to manage well, and to obtain both approbation and success.

Make yourself both loved and feared, by being kind to those who deserve it, and severe with those who act improperly; but be particularly careful neither to be too severe nor indifferent to those who seek redress, and who, I am told, are very badly received by some persons about you.

Do not give credit to unauthenticated slander, for an honourable man speaks against another with reluctance, and never unless he has proof for what he says, and having them, he always can produce them, and every honourable man will do so from a sense of delicacy, lest he should be suspected of acting from malice, the idea of which is intolerable. I therefore give it to your Royal Highness as a rule, that every man who calumniates another, without proof, is a *dishonourable and an indelicate man.* I hope, Sir, you never attend to such men, or if you have done so, that you will do it no more.

I know there are many abuses in the army, and some defects in its formation, beyond your power to remedy, but it is in your power to ameliorate them; for in all matters of government, whether the army or any other department, as much depends on the administration as on the constitution.

I do not disapprove of purchasing commissions, for, generally speaking, men of education, and men of some property, are both most able and most willing to defend the country, but then it should be modified by exceptions in favour of merit, and in particular from the rank of ensign to the higher ranks.

I am not of opinion that great encouragement should be given to the raising of men from the ranks to become officers; it is not in that way I think merit is chiefly to be encouraged (though sometimes it may) but it is by encouraging *poor gentlemen who have entered the army*; those have the advantages of education and honourable principles, and if the emulation is added, that advancement in point of rank, (where there is merit) will produce, your army will obtain all that excellence of which it probably admits.

In the navy, rank is not purchased.—Merit, say they, advances men, but the common sailor is not often advanced, and two things render the army and navy not fair to be compared. In the first place, England is by nature a maritime power above all others. As a military power, in respect to land armies, she is inferior to many; therefore, equal success and equal excellence are not to be expected to arise from any possible organization.

My brave English! (For the old Marlborough still counts them his own) were never yet defeated by equal numbers. From *Cressy*, *Agincourt*, *Malplaquet* and *Blenheim*, to the *Heights of Famar*, and the *Plains of Maida*,

they have always fought like heroes, and they always will.

Do them justice—advance merit—listen not to sycophants or coxcombs, or men who have only to boast of wealth or of parliamentary interest. Be rigid and just, but be also attentive to the claims of the deserving, and disregard all those secondary train of men or motives, that only act on little or depraved minds—act thus, and you will do your part towards the honour and preservation of your country, and you will have the esteem of the old general

MARLBOROUGH.

Shades, April 4, 1808.

WEST INDIA PLANTERS.

Continued from page 123.

THE same set of men who have all along been the oppressors of the planters, now wish to persuade the nation, that both policy and justice require that it should stretch forth its arm to aid and protect them.

The West India merchants in London, have been stewards and pawnbrokers to the proprietors of West India estates, and the proprietors themselves are in general an extravagant, improvident and ignorant class of persons.

A history of the revenues of the estates and mortgages in the islands, would be both curious and interesting, and it would account for the present embarrassments of the merchants, but that would not be altogether to the present purpose, as it is adverting to what is past and irremediable; it would, however, serve to shew with what a bad grace the West India merchants (those receiving stewards and pawnbrokers) come forward to persuade the nation, to take off the load from the shoulders of the planters, that they themselves have laid on.

The heavy mortgages on West India estates (advanced in times when matters were different from what they are now, and when the profits in raising sugar, and other colonial produce were immense) now bear down the planter, and the merchant is not able to grind him as heretofore, and being disappointed, the merchants weep bitterly; but they have carried their endeavours too far.

We shall come to the point at once, and set the business in such a light, that there can be no disputing the facts, nor dissenting from our opinion.

A committee of a number of members of the House of Commons was chosen last year for the purpose of investigating the business, and at the same time examining witnesses, and the witnesses that were examined were chiefly West India merchants.

The result of all the examinations, was that sugar cost from twenty to twenty-one shillings per cwt. on the estates, and about fifteen shillings for freight insurance, &c. to this country, so that when it sells under thirty-six or thirty-seven shillings per cwt. not including duty, all that it is under is loss.

At the very time of this examination, and long before, it had been four or five shillings under, so that by this evidence, if true, there was a loss of more than twenty per cent. on the raw sugar as raised in the colonies, and of about thirteen per cent. on the selling price here in London.

This being the case, it required a serious consideration as to the necessity of relief, and then as to the manner of granting it.

In the first place, however, we shall prove, that there is great reason for believing, there is an error in this evidence; whether from will or ignorance, is little to the purpose.

Mr. Andrew Wedderburn, a partner in the great West India house of Wedderburn and Co. in Leadenhall-Street, was

the most pointed and most particular in his evidence, and he made the sugar to cost in Jamaica, on eight estates, of which he has the care, (as merchant) to twenty shillings and ten-pence per cwt. so that the loss is great.

It would follow as a necessary consequence from this, that the planters, if they are in Jamaica, do not receive returns equal to the expence, and if they are in this country, they are getting in debt, and receiving nothing from the island.

It so happens, however, that at the very time those statements were making, the house in which Mr. Andrew Wedderburn is a partner, were making advances of money, to be repaid from sales of sugar, to a Mr. * * * * who is a refugee in the abbey of Holy-Rood House, at Edinburgh, in order to avoid being arrested. Not only have the merchants made payments, but they have *anticipated* and advanced up to a future day.

We think this matter should be inquired into, for it is quite at variance with the evidence that was given.

So much for the case of the planters not being such as to require relief, but if it did how is it to be given?

We shall shew that the planters raise more sugar than can find a market, and that a portion of the negroes ought to be employed in raising provisions, and then the evil would be remedied; but as to loans of money from this country, that would be unfair. Diminishing the duty would not sensibly increase the consumption, and would only be like giving a premium for raising sugar, when too much is already raised; it would then be wrong in every point of view; and as to the distilling from sugar in place of grain, it would only be a very partial and incomplete remedy, for the quantity produced more than consumed, amounts to above 100,000 hogsheads; whereas the distilleries would not take above 30,000. There are other points likewise to be considered, but before it is necessary to do that, let us ascertain whether the testimony of the West India merchants is entitled to credit or not, for that is the main and primary object of consideration.

[*To be continued.*]

OF THE POOR's RATE.

Continued from page 139.

If the links of a chain are not equally strong, before any strain is felt by the strong links, the weak ones give way, and the chain is broken.

The case is the same with the members of a community. Now, when you lay on taxes, the general tendency is to raise the price of food and labour. Most labourers receive the advantage of the price of labour, but many pay unequally for the rise of food.

A tax on the wealthy, it will be said, is the thing proposed; but no; that would be doing nothing: it must be a premium or drawback to men with families who are poor, not merely to counteract the effect of any one tax, but the total effect of taxation with respect to maintaining their children. Wide, indeed, is the difference between a tax on those who are well able to pay, and a premium or drawback in favour of those who are not.

The manner of providing for the poor in England leads to a degree of wastefulness and improvidence unknown in any other country. Improvidence ought, as much as possible, to be discouraged, for, with those who labour hard and are indigent, the desire to gratify some pressing want, or present appetite, is continually uppermost.

This may be termed the war between the belly and the back, in which the former is generally the conqueror. It would be a

small evil if this victory were decided seldom, as in other countries; but in the great towns in England there is, as it were, a continual state of hostility. In London, the battle is fought, on an average, at least once a week; and idleness, and the profits of those sort of petty usurers, called pawnbrokers, are greatly promoted by it.

Some part of this evil cannot, perhaps, be remedied, but there are certain articles that ought not to be taken in pledge, such as the clothes of young children and working tools.

There is no doubt but that in a populous inhospitable trading town, where there is no means of obtaining aid from friendship, and where the want is sometimes extreme, the resource of pledging is a necessary one. This is to be admitted in the degree, but by no means without limitation; for the facility creates the want (even when it is a real want) for it brings on improvidence and carelessness. The lower classes come to consider their apparel as money, only that requires changing before it is quite current.

If this matter were well looked into, together with the other causes from which mendicity proceeds, which increases so rapidly, we should soon perceive a diminution of the poors rates, and the wealthiest country of Europe would not exhibit the greatest and most multiplied scenes of misery and distress.

The numbers of children left in indigence by their parents, would be comparatively lower, and there would not be that waste in the administration of the funds on which they are supported.

There are probably, no means of greatly diminishing the number of helpless poor, but by an encouragement to lay up, in the hour of health, an abundance to supply the wants of feebleness and age; but this might go a great way to diminishing the evil. All persons who have places under government, of whatever nature, ought to be compelled to subscribe to such institutions; this would be doing the individuals, as well as the community, a real service, and would go a great way to the counteracting of the evil. Preventatives are first to be applied, and after those have operated as far as may be, their remedies.

The poor, &c. to whose maintenance £5,500,000 a year goes (a sum greater than the revenues of any second rate monarchy in Europe) may be divided into three classes.

First, those who, by proper means, might be prevented from wanting aid.

Second, those who, for various reasons, cannot get a living in the regular way, but might with a little aid, either maintain themselves, or nearly so: and,

Third, those who, from inability, extreme age, tender youth, or bodily disease, are unable to do any thing, and must be supported at the public expence. Nobody will dispute but there are many of all those descriptions maintained at present, and, therefore, all that can create a difference of opinion is about the proportions between the three.

It is probable that one half, at least, could maintain, or nearly maintain, themselves: one quarter might be prevented from ever requiring any aid at all; and the other quarter would be assisted as at present.

This would reduce the expences to less than one third, and probably to one quarter of what they are now; that is, of £5,500,000, there would be a saving of £3,500,000; but that is not all, for the national industry would be augmented by £2,000,000 and more: that is to say, by the industry of the half that maintained themselves; so that the nation would gain, partly in money saved, and partly in money got, £5,500,000.

According to the true spirit of the English nation, in which there is a great fund of generosity and goodness at the bottom,

it may perhaps be said, that the poor are not able to labour at all, and that the plan would not answer. This is but a rough manner of answering a proposal, which neither is in reality, nor is meant to be, void of humanity. There were by last years accounts nearly 900,000 persons of one sort and another maintained or relieved, which does not make above six pounds a year for each person; now, where is there a person that can work at all, that cannot earn above fourpence a day in England?

The plan for remedying this abuse ought to be very simple, for it will be administered by such ignorant and rough directors, that, if it is not simple, it must fail entirely.

To have a good surgeon or physician is essential; and those who would not work, and were able, should have the same allowance that a prisoner has in a gaol; but those who would work should be paid a fair price, and allowed to lay out money, to hoard it, or do as they please, except drinking to excess.

Though many for want of vigour are refused employment in a workshop, some for want of character, and others for various reasons, become burthensome, yet there are not a few, who, from mere laziness, throw themselves upon the parish, where they live a careless life, free from hunger, cold, and labour. When the mind is once reconciled to this situation, the temptation is considerable, and there are many of these poor people, who will boast that they have themselves been overseers, and paid their share to the expences.

Whatever evil is found to have a tendency to increase with the wealth of a nation ought, most carefully, to be kept under; and this is one of the most formidable, and, of all others, most evidently arising from bad management and want of attention.

It would be necessary to have all sorts of employment, that the persons in such places can, with advantage, be occupied in doing, and a small allowance should be made to defray general expences, amongst which, ought to be that of surveyors of districts, who should, like those employed by the excise office, inspect into the state of the different poor houses, and the whole should be reported, in a proper and regular manner, to the government of the country from time to time.

Those little paltry parish democracies that tax one part of the people, and maltreat the other, ought to be under some proper controul; and the happiness and prosperity of England should not be left at their mercy.

In a country where every thing is done with such admirable accuracy in the revenue department, as England, it would be useless to attempt pointing out the manner of executing the plan; it is sufficient to shew its practicability and the necessity of attending to it.

If, in the first instance, the advantage would be such as is here mentioned, it would in a few years, be much greater, particularly in so far as fewer families would be left in a state of indigence; for, it is clear, that such families are a continual incumbrance on the rising generation, and tend to the diminution of the general mass of useful citizens.

If it should so happen, that taxes augment or that trade falls off, (both of which may very likely happen,) then the interference of government may become a matter of absolute necessity; but then, perhaps it may be too late. It would be much better if government would interfere, before the evil is actually come to the highest pitch. The parishes might perhaps, look with jealousy on an interference of this sort, as being an infringement on their rights; for Englishmen are sometimes very tenacious of privileges that are highly pernicious to themselves. This difficulty, (for it probably would be one,) might be got over,

by previously establishing inspectors in the different bishops sees, who should be obliged to render an account to the bishop, to be communicated to government, by which means, the evil would either be removed, or its existence ascertained, so as to answer the complaints that might be made, and thereby prevent all discontent on the subject.

Without being able to say what might absolutely be the best remedy, it is, at least, fair to ask the question, whether it is fit that the administration of £ 5,500,000, a year should be entrusted into the hands of ignorant men? It may likewise be asked, if the feelings of the necessitous ranks of society (as keen in many instances as those of their betters,) should be wounded by men, who have not sufficient knowledge of any sort to act with the humanity necessary. The candidates for popular favour, amongst the lower housekeepers, are generally flattering, fawning, ignorant and overbearing; wherever they have the least authority over others. Such, in general, are the parish officers, to whose care this important affair is committed.

Though this is an institution almost on the purely democratic principle of equal representation, it is a very bad specimen of that mode of government. The shameful lawsuits between the parishes, about paupers: the disgraceful and barbarous treatment of women, who have been betrayed and abandoned, admit of no excuse. They are not productive even of gain or economy. Amongst some tribes of savage Indians, the aged and helpless are put to death, that they may not remain a burthen on those who are able and in health, and it is equally true, that in England, the young innocents, who have not parents to protect them, are considered as a burthen; and, if they are not absolutely sent out of the world, the means necessary to preserve them in it are very inadequate to the purpose. If criminality could be engraved on a graduated scale, their death ought in general to be written down at some intermediate point between accidental homicide and wilful murder. The persecution of this unfortunate race may be said to commence before they are born; and though the strength of a nation depends much on its population, less care is taken to encourage it, than to produce mushrooms, or to preserve hares and partridges.

(To be continued.)

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC QUESTION.

We had sent our article on the Roman Catholic question to press, last week, before we received the following letter, otherwise we should have incorporated its contents with that article.

To the EDITOR of ANTICIPATION.

Sir,

When you treated the business of the Roman Catholics, though I like much your elucidation about the impossibility of equality in religion, shewing that toleration, is all that ought to be asked or that can be granted, I wonder that you did not notice the uncommon ill-nature that the opposition shew towards the chancellor of the exchequer in particular, because he has been most decided and active in the business.

It appears to me, (who am but a man of plain of sense, but I hope of true principle,) that the manner in which Mr. Perceval has acted, far from making enemies, should pacify them, and my reasons are simple.

Mr. Perceval did not act from interest, for the proposers of the alterations were out of place before he did what has made them so angry; and when one does not act from

interest, if he acts with energy, it must be from principle. Had the chancellor of the exchequer been indifferent about the business he might have been blamed, but the contrary has been the case. When any man makes religion a matter of convenience—when he uses it as an instrument to effect a purpose, and is indifferent as to the religion itself, he is highly to blame, but even if he should carry his zeal farther than others may wish, yet, still if he does it with sincerity, he is an honest man.

When the last ministers brought forward the Catholic question, they appear to have done it merely for political purposes, and not for itself; for when they found that they could not carry the measure, they offered to abandon it, provided they could keep their places.

The stand they afterwards made, was in order to preserve a remnant of honour, and they made it at no expence, for they knew that confidence was gone, and that they could not remain in place. Otherwise, can you believe that the men who offered to give up the question then, would not have given it up for ever, if it would have answered the purpose?

But I remember you said, in one place, that "the ill-nature with which his Majesty's ministers are attacked is great, in proportion to their firmness, and in the case of the Catholic question, Mr. Percival has been uncommonly firm." I am, therefore, disposed to give him credit, just in proportion to the abuse with which he is loaded, by those who support the other party.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant.

A. B.

ON THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NATIONS.

He must be either more or less than a man, who can look on at the alterations that now are taking place with such rapidity on the Continent of Europe, without inquiring into the cause of so violent a change, from a state of permanent tranquillity to one of incessant revolutionary convulsion.

If it is of importance to study by what means a nation may acquire wealth and power, it is not less so to discover by what means wealth and power, when once acquired, may be preserved.

The latter inquiry is, perhaps, the more important of the two; for many nations have remained, during a long period, virtuous and happy; but there is no example of happiness or virtue residing amongst a fallen people.

In looking over the globe, if we fix our eyes on those places where wealth formerly was accumulated, and where commerce flourished, we see them at the present day peculiarly desolated and degraded.

From the borders of the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Baltic Sea; from Babylon and Palmyra, Egypt, Greece, and Italy, to Spain and Portugal, and the whole circle of the Hanseatic League, we trace the same ruinous remains of ancient greatness, presenting a melancholy contrast with the poverty, indolence, and ignorance of the present race of inhabitants, and an irresistable proof of the mutability of human affairs.

As in the hall, in which there has been a sumptuous banquet, we perceive the fragments of a feast now become a prey to beggars and banditti; if, in some instances, the spectacle is less wretched and disgusting, it is because the banquet is not entirely over, and the guests have not yet all risen from the table.

From this almost univeral picture, we learn that the greatness of nations is but of short duration. We learn also, that the state of a fallen people is infinitely more wretched and miserable, than that of those who have never risen from their original

state of poverty. It is then well worth while to inquire into the causes of so terrible a reverse, that we may discover whether they are necessary or only natural, and endeavour, if possible, to find the means by which prosperity may be lengthened out, and the period of humiliation procrastinated to a distant day.

Though the career of prosperity must necessarily have a termination among every people; yet there is some reason to think that the degradation which naturally follows, and which has always followed hitherto, may be averted. Whether it may be, or may not be so, is the subject of the following inquiry, which, if it is of importance to any nation on earth, must be peculiarly so to England, a nation that has risen, both in commerce and power, so high above the natural level assigned to it by its population and extent—a nation that rises still, but whose earnest wish ought rather to be directed to preservation than extension; to defending itself against adversity, rather than seeking still farther to augment its power.

With regard to the importance of inquiry, there cannot be two opinions; but, concerning its utility and success, opinions may be divided.

One of the most profound and ingenious writers of a late period, has made the following interesting observation on the prosperity of nations.

"In all speculations upon men and human "affairs, it is of no small moment to dis- "tinguish things of accident from perma- "nent causes, and from effects that cannot "be altered. I am not quite of the mind "of those speculators; who seem assured "that necessarily, and, by the constitution "of things, all states have the same period "of infancy, manhood, and decripitude, "that are found in the individuals who "compose them. The objects which are "attempted to be forced into an analogy, "are not founded in the same classes of "existence. Individuals are physical "beings, subject to laws universal and in- "variable; but commonwealths are not "physical but moral essences; they are "artificial combinations, and, in their "proximate efficient cause, the arbitrary "productions of the human mind. We are "not yet acquainted with the laws, which "necessarily influence that kind of work, "made by that kind of agent.

"There is not, in the physical order, a "distinct cause by which any of those fa- "brics must necessarily grow, flourish, and "decay; nor, indeed, in my opinion, does "the moral world produce any thing more "determinate on that subject, than what "may serve as an amusement, (liberal in- "deed, and ingenious, but still only an "amusement) for speculative men. I doubt "whether the history of mankind is yet "complete enough, if ever it can be so, "to furnish grounds for a sure theory on "the internal causes, which necessarily "affect the fortune of a state. I am far "from denying the operation of such causes, "but they are infinitely uncertain, and "much more obscure, and much more diffi- "cult to trace than the foreign causes that "tend to depress, and sometimes over- "whelm society."

There remains but one other consideration in reply to this, and that is, whether states have, necessarily, by the constitution and nature of things, the same periods of infancy, manhood, and decripitude, that are found in the individuals that compose them. Mr. Burke thinks they have not; and, indeed, if they had, the following inquiry would be of no sort of utility. It is of no importance to seek for means of preventing what must of necessity come to pass: but, if the word necessity is changed for tendency or propensity, then it becomes an inquiry deserving attention, and, as all states have risen, flourished, and fallen, there can be no dispute with the regard to their tendency to do so.

However much, at first sight, Mr. Burke's opinion may appear to militate against such an inquiry, when duly considered, it will be found, not only to approve of the end, but to point out the manner in which the inquiry ought to be conducted; namely, by consulting history.

If it is allowed that any practical advantage is to be derived from the history of the past, it can only be, in so far as it is applicable to the present and the future; and, if there be none, it is melancholy to reflect on the volumes that have been written without farther utility than to gratify idle curiosity. Are the true lessons of history, because they are never completely applicable to present affairs, to be ranked with the entertainings, but almost useless, pages of romance? No, certainly. Of the inheritance possessed by the present generation, the history of those who are gone before, is not the least valuable portion. Each reader now makes his application in his own way. It is an irregular application, but not an useless one, and it is, therefore, hoped, that an inquiry, founded on a regular plan of camparison and analogy, cannot but be of some utility.

[*To be continued.*]

THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

Continued from Page 46.

We should have returned to this subject sooner, had we not considered that it would be more useful to make such observations as the business suggests at the moment that public attention is turned to it, than during a vacation, when the minds of people are occupied on other objects.

We observed that the hardship of officers being suspended, or struck off the list, without a court-martial, does not consist in the power inherent in his majesty, but in his majesty not being of necessity properly informed as to the rights of the case.

The first and greatest duty of a king, in early times, was to do justice. They were the supreme judge, and to this day judges are but the representatives of the sovereign. As to juries, they are but a recent invention, and court-martials are military juries. But we never learnt from sacred or profane history, that even the most arbitrary sovereigns passed judgment without hearing the parties, and the splendid and singular display of the wisdom of Solomon, is an authentic record of the truth of what we say.

Let the sovereign be the judge, but let the parties be heard; this is all we request, and we do not see with what justice the request can be denied.

An example in illustration of the peculiar hardship of officers occurs to us, from the recent trial of General Whitelock.

That officer, though he is adjudged after mature investigation to have acted very badly, after he has injured the interests of the country, and thrown a blot on its military reputation, is only SUSPENDED. Yes, SUSPENDED; that is, when found guilty, after a long investigation, and being heard in his defence, the same thing is done to him that may be done to officers of inferior rank without their ever being heard in defence, or their knowing the cause of their punishment.

This is a very hard case, but the real matter is harder still. General Whitelock is a man of property—suspension is to him only a moral punishment, it is not attended with the physical inconveniency of want of bread for himself and family.

Highly as we rate the honour of a British soldier, and severe as we conceive the loss of it to be, we still conceive, and are convinced, that the inconvenience of want, the horrors of starvation are great augmentations of suffering, and it unfortunately

happens that those aggravations are heaped on the guiltless head; we say the guiltless head, for by the constitutional principle of England, as well as by the immutable law of nature, every man must be considered as innocent till he is proved to be guilty; and this is the case with an officer that is struck off without being told why, or having an opportunity to appeal fairly to the justice of his sovereign.

[*To be continued.*]

THE LITERARY FUND.

Continued from page 134.

HAVING mentioned that the scanty fund of this admirable (and at the same time necessary institution) are *contributed* in a *voluntary manner*, and *managed* gratuitously, we think it well to make some observations on charitable institutions in general, as well as on some particular establishments, and shew how different they are from the Literary Fund. When we say how different, we mean to shew how much inferior with regard to the mode in which they are conducted.

Let it be fairly understood, that in maintaining that men of letters require, and are entitled to aid, we by no means do consider it on account of their good conduct, or any superior merit, merely as men, but for two reasons very different.—Literary men are volunteers in the public service, and besides their claims as individuals in the aggregate, their claims are very great, for their services are beyond estimation.

Sailors and soldiers have claims entirely of the same nature. In many individual cases they may be disputed, but never in the aggregate.

On the other hand, men of letters have a claim, that resembles the claims of the lame and the blind, for along with a turn for writing, there is unfortunately a moral incapacity in most men, arising from their employing their mind on affairs foreign to their own interest, in preference to things that relate to their own interest.

This is a natural defect, and more or less inseparable from a turn for writing. The author then has two claims on the public; one as an useful servant, the other as an object of charity, on account of a mental deficiency, that renders him sometimes an object of pity and of charity.

Let it then be remembered that the claim being a double one, is very strong.

While the inconsiderable sum of about £ 1000, (that is at the disposal of those who manage the business now gratuitously) is unequal to the relief of persons who apply, we observe, on the other hand, that from not having a charter, the institution is deprived of stability.

Hired servants to collect and act in inferior situations are indispensably necessary, but men acting for a society not chartered, are not subject to legal responsibility, as if acting for an individual, a partnership of a few, or a chartered company.

Whilst the present gentlemen who established and encouraged this institution remain to manage it, things will go pretty well without a charter; but there may arise a Pharaoh that knows not Joseph, and then the case will be greatly altered; for it is not to be expected that a succession of gentlemen like the present, will be found to regulate the affairs.

Speaking without prejudice (in any way) but taking all circumstances into consideration, we are inclined to fear that if a charter is not obtained, that excellent establishment will in time be neglected, perhaps be mismanaged, and, in one manner or another, die away.

The circumstances that make us think so, are the great difficulty and exertion necessary to its establishment, the very small extent to which it has been carried, and the general indifference manifested by the public.

If any ill-natured enemy of the British character were to wish to turn it into ridi-

cule, ample materials would be found in contrasting the encouragement the Literary Fund has met with, and the collection of a library of old, scarce, and dear books, at a place in the City, called the London Institution.

We believe £ 60,000 was subscribed in a few days to that collection of books, not one in ten of which the subscribers can read, and not one in a hundred of which they ever will read farther than the gilt letters on the back, which might be equally useful on a block of wood, but which, no doubt, are very elegant ornaments to a room fitted up for shew.

Mr. Pope was the most severe satirist, both with respect to posthumous generosity and literary ostentation, of any that ever wrote; but we think that without the aid of wit, but merely assisted by plain sense and humanity, it is clear that there is less utility in collecting books merely because they are expensive and difficult to procure, than in assisting such men as produce useful works, adapted to the circumstances of the times, or who, by their labours, do something to advance the general cause of literature.

A charter and the countenance of government are the first things wanted—the rest will follow.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We agree perfectly with Clericus, that if an army is sent out to the assistance of Sweden, without chaplains or clergy of any description, that it will not only injure the cause, but lessen the opinion entertained by that brave people concerning the English nation. There is but one small remnant of the Continent in alliance with England, and that has not bent the knee to Ali Bonaparte, (for such was his title in Egypt) Let us be careful to preserve the esteem of that people.

"We thank our correspondent, sigued 'a "Layman,' for his letter upon chaplains "to the army, and heartily wish some-"thing to be done in it; but, being a "little surprised to see a letter in the "Herald upon the same subject, appearing "to be written by the same well meaning "person, we inquired into the reason of "it, and find that the letter had been sent "to the Herald office many months ago, "from whence we conclude, the writer "supposed it would not appear, and (if "the same person) sent us his letter. Why "it should have appeared, after so long "an interval, in the Herald, we do not "pretend to say, but we hope the same "correspondent will continue to send us "his favours, as he seems to enter into the "spirit of our undertaking, which is an "attempt to meliorate the situation of the "people."

As we find that the Duke D'Angoulême is going to the Continent to bring over the remainder of his family, it appears that the residence of Lewis XVIII. in this kingdom, is not likely to be a temporary affair. As the business of Anticipation is to lay true information before government, we shall begin next week by inserting a history of the French Princes, when they were in prosperity, and since then also; particularly of their conduct relative to contracting debts and paying creditors, when it was in their power. We cannot say the effect that such information will produce, that will remain with those whom it concerns, but we shall have done our duty and we shall persist in it.

The vindication of Sinbad, the Sailor, most positively in our next; also of Alexander Davison, Esq.

Printed by W. Glindon, Rupert-street, Haymarket, and published for the Proprietors, 9, Newcastle-street, Strand.

N° 9.

The King and the Country.

Printed by W. GLINDON,
48, *Rupert-Street, Haymarket.*

Published for the Proprietors
9, *Newcastle Street, Strand.*

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

ON THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NATIONS.

Continued from page 158.

BUT why do we treat that as hypothetical, of which there can be no doubt? Wherefore should there be two opinions concerning the utility of an inquiry into these mighty events, that have removed wealth and commerce from the Euphrates and the Nile, to the Thames and the Texel? Does not the sun rise, and do not the seasons return to the plains of Egypt, and the desarts of Syria, the same as they did three thousand years ago? Is not inanimate nature the same now as it was then? Are the principles of vegetation altered? or have the subordinate animals refused to obey the will of man, to assist him in his labour, or to serve him for his food? No, nature is not less bountiful, and man has more knowledge and more power than at any former period; but it is not the man of Syria, or of Egypt, that has more knowledge, or more power. There he has suffered his race to decay, and, along with himself, his works have degenerated.

When those countries were peopled with men, who were wise, prudent, industrious, and brave, their fields were fertile, and their cities were magnificent; and wherever

mankind have carried the same vigour, the same virtues, and the same character, nature has been found bountiful and obedient.

Throughout the whole earth, we see the same causes producing nearly the same effects; why then do we remain in doubt respecting their connection? or, if under no doubt, wherefore do we not endeavour to trace their operation, that we know how to preserve those advantages we are so eager to obtain?

If an inquiry into the causes of the revolutions of nations, is more imperfect and less satisfactory than when directed to those of individuals, and of single families; if ever it should be rendered complete, its application will, at least, be more certain. Nations are exempt from those accidental vicissitudes which derange the wisest of human plans upon a smaller scale. Number and magnitude reduce chances to certainty. The single and unforeseen cause that overwhelms a man in the midst of prosperity, never ruins a nation. Unless it be ripe for ruin, a nation never falls: and when it does fall, accident has only the appearance of doing what, in reality, was already nearly accomplished.

There is no physical cause for the decline of nations; nature remains the same; and if the physical man has degenerated, it was before the authentic records of history. The men who built the most stupendous pyramid in Egypt, did not exceed in stature those who now live in mean hovels at its immense base. If there is any country in the world that proves the uniformity of nature, it is that very Egypt. Unlike to other countries, that owe their fertility to the ordinary succession of seasons, of which regular registers do not exist, and are never accurate, it depends on the overflowing of a single river. The marks that indicated the overflowing of the Nile, in the days of the Pharoahs and of the Ptolmies, do the same at the present day, and are a guarantee for the future regularity of nature, by the undeniable certainty of it for the past.

By a singular propensity for preserving the bodies of the dead, the Egyptians have left records equally authentic with regard to the structure of the human frame. Here nothing is fabulous; and even the unintentional errors of language are impossible. We have neither to depend on the veracity nor the correctness of man. The proofs exhibited are visible and tangible; they are the objects of the senses, and admit of no mistake.

But while that country exhibits the most authentic proofs of the uniform course of nature, it affords also the most evident examples of the degradation of the human mind. It is there we find the cause of those ruins that astonish, and the desolation that afflicts. Had men continued their exertions, the labour of their hands would not have fallen to decay.

It is in the exertion and conduct of man, and in the information of his mind, that we find the causes of the mutability of human affairs. We are about to trace them through an intricate labyrinth; but, in this, we are not without a guide.

The history of three thousand years, and of nations that have risen to wealth and power, in a great variety of situations, all terminating with a considerable degree of similarity, discovers the great outline of the causes that invigorate or degrade the human mind, and thereby raise or ruin states and empires.

[*To be continued.*]

MONOPOLY OF PROVISIONS.

Continued from page 134.

In monopoly, a sort of combination has been proved to exist between the sellers of an article, when the article does not hap-

pen to be all in the hands of one person, or one body of persons. But combinations are of various sorts; there are express combinations, entered into by the people (having the same interest) for a particular purpose. Those are done by a sort of an agreement, when the interest of the individual and of the body are the same. Such combinations are generally effectual but unlawful.

There are sometimes combinations which it is the interest of a whole body to preserve, but of each individual to break if he can with impunity; such generally soon fall to the ground.

There are combinations not less effectual, that arise merely from circulating intelligence of prices, and certain circumstances on which prices are known to depend, amongst all those concerned, who immediately know how to act in unison. This is not unlawful.

An elegant historian has said that there was a time time when the sovereign Pontiff, like the leader of a band of musicians, could regulate all the clergy in Europe, so that the same tones should proceed from all the pulpits on the same day. The list of prices, at a great corn market, has the same effect on the minds of all the sellers within a certain distance. Intelligence now flies so swift that there is no interval of uncertainty; the whole of the dealers know how to act, according to circumstances, and they are all led to act nearly as if they were in one single body. Like gamesters, who have won a great deal, rather than hasten to sell, even when they fear that prices may fall, they keep back their stock, and risk to lose something of what they have gained, by continuing to speculate on the agreeable and winning chance by which the have already profited.

The dealers in an article of ready sale, or for which there is a certain demand, have never any difficulty, in a wealthy country, of procuring money to make purchases, or to enable them to keep their stock; and the gains are so immense that there is no speculation equally attractive.

As the rent of land, in England, is reckoned at twenty five millions a year; and as it is reckoned that, in a common year, the rent is worth one third of the produce, it follows that, of all the sorts of produce of land, the value is seventy-five millions. But in the year 1799, when the prices were more than doubled, the value was one hundred and fifty millions, of which the landlord received (as usual) twenty-five to his share, leaving for the farmer, &c. one hundred and twenty-five, instead of fifty, the usual sum. As the wages of labour remained the same, as in an ordinary year, would amount to one third of the rent, eight millions went for that, leaving one hundred and seventeen millions, in place of forty-two, the usual residue. Two thirds of the value of rent, or sixteen millions, is, in an ordinary year, supposed to go for the seed, the maintenance of cattle and labourers; so that, in that year, the portion so consumed must be estimated at double value, or thirty four millions, which deducted from one hundred and seventeen, leaves eighty three millions for the farmers, in place of twenty five, in an ordinary year! So that when the price doubles, the farmers profit more than treble. In the year 1799, the farmers were known to have the profit of four ordinary years, supposing that they had been the actual sellers in the market. The fact was otherwise no doubt, with regard to those who pocketed the profit, which went in part only to farmers, and the rest went to monopolists, dealers, regraters, forestallers, &c. who advanced money to keep up the price. To the public who paid, the matter is the same, and, to the business itself, there is little difference as to who profited, or who found capital; for, as they shared the profit amongst them, and as they received three times as much as in an ordinary

year, they could, out of the sales of the first four or five months, make all the payments for the whole year to the landlord; and therefore could have the means of keeping the remainder just as long as they thought proper.

Thus, then, while there is any degree of scarcity, the provisions of a country are at a monopoly price; and the dealers act, though individually, as if they enjoyed one general monopoly.

There is one moment only when they do not; that is, when they find out, for certain, that prices are going to fall. There for a moment, individual interest, and general interest are opposite, and they hasten to sell, and to reduce the price too much. But even this does not relieve the public; for though it makes the reduction very rapid for a time, and may sometimes bring it below the level, it quickly rises again, and finishes when the panic amongst the dealers is over, by remaining higher than it ought to be.

Before leaving this important subject, it is necessary to observe, that, though dealers in provision, in times of any degree of scarcity, (that is, when there is not quite enough fully to supply the consumption of the country) act, in keeping up prices, as if they had an exclusive privilege for monopoly, yet that is the only case in which they do so. A single monopolizer can diminish the quantity, and perhaps destroy a part of it with advantage to himself. Thus the Dutch East India company were said to have done with the spices.

If diminishing the quantity one quarter raises the price one half, then the monopolist gains, if he possesses the whole market; but the individual dealer, if he were to burn his whole stock, would not diminish the quantity in the country one thousandth part, and therefore could make no sensible difference.

But the individual dealer, though he is interested in a general high price and monopoly, is still more interested in selling as much as he can; and the higher the price, the more careful he is not to waste or consume more than he can help. In this respect, the monopoly of the many is not half so hurtful as the individual monopoly. This proves that all the vulgar errors, which occasion reports of farmers and dealers destroying their corn, are not only without foundation, but would produce an effect quite contrary to the avaricious principle, by which such men are considered to be governed.

Both in London and Paris, the reports of this sort, are (making a little allowance for the language and nature of the people,) exceedingly similar in nature and tendency, during the scarcity which prevailed in 1789 and 1799.

Monopoly of this sort, by raising the prices of the necessaries of life, in the end, augments the prices of labour, the rent of land, and the taxes of a country. We have already examined the tendency of all this; it is only necessary to observe that the rise in prices, or depreciation of money, which other causes bring on by degrees, this brings on violently and suddenly.

The few years of dearth altered wages and rent more than had been known for half a century before. Wages rose more, from 1790 to 1802, than they had done from 1740 to 1790.

This cause will always exist in a country, that cannot provide enough for its own subsistence.

[*To be continued.*]

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER VII.

FROM PETER THE GREAT, IN THE SHADES—TO THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY DEAR DESCENDANT,

BEFORE this day, I thought that it would have been in my power to congratulate my successor and descendant, on having withstood the deluge that threatens the civilized world with destruction. But, alas! the Great Russian Emperor has only sealed the triumph, of an aspiring, though very great man, over the Continent of Europe; a man who threatens every nation not yet subdued, that is within his reach, with an equally hard fate. Yet, *my brave Russians* were superior to the French in almost every engagement. It was in the Cabinet, not in the field that Russia fell. To be great, men must persevere: it is not sufficient to mean well, to be brave and honourable; the first step to great achievement is to be prepared to suffer. You were not prepared, though you had read the history of your ancestors, some of whom were well resolved and suffered much, but never without rising in the scale of nations.

You were young and prematurely involved; that is the best, perhaps it is the only excuse for the Emperor of all the Russias. As for the brave people, they want no excuse, but ere long they will want vengeance. May the Almighty grant that the vengence may fall on their enemies, and not on the House of Romanzow!!

To defend Europe was perhaps not in your power. It was not a direct, though it might be a secondary duty: but, Sir, it was your immediate duty to preserve your empire in that proud situation in which your glorious and great ancestors had left it

What evil demon presided at the treaty of Tilsit, by which your commerce is ruined, and your navigation of the Ocean done away? The Baltic is now as if it were hermetically sealed up! What will become of the imperial city, of which I laid the foundation at the bottom of the Gulph of Finland, with such labour and paint, that I might render Russia powerful and rich? Will it again become a morass, and will its environs once more resemble the barren plains of Siberia? No, Sir; though this would be the natural consequence of the treaty that you have unwisely, and in a weak moment made, it will yet be averted. Listen to the more immediate consequences.

The modern system of Europe requires, that every country, in order to have weight and power, must have revenue, and that revenue in money, but to have money and revenue, commerce is necessary, and as an example near at hand, it was from that cause Poland, once powerful and rich, fell.

Russia, by the treaty of Tilsit, (oh, how I shudder when I write the name! I who never shuddered before or shrunk from an enemy,) Russia, I say, will now want a market for its produce, and its revenue must fall. The great Boyards will become indignant, and must deprive themselves of those enjoyments which civilization has introduced into Russia. You are young, but you are not ignorant; do you think that your people will bear this? No, they will never bear it. I know them, and I know their nature well (and so did the Great Catharine). It never will be suffered by the bold, proud and indignant nobility of Rus-

sia, supported by a hardy, a brave, and at the same time a loyal and obedient people.

The treaty of Tilsit, framed in the infernal regions, will and must be done away. You have not to attack France. *Only become the friend of England*, and leave the rest to Providence.

There will be no more occasion for confederacies founded by diplomatic intrigue, and destroyed by the cold blooded temper of one, the jealousy of another, and the treachery of a third; for all those who have felt the iron yoke of France, will hasten to rebel, when they find they have still a rallying point; when they find that there is one country that has the magnanimity to break its chains and retract its error.

The Emperor of France will never try a second experiment of crossing the Vistula. He will never have the insolence again to threaten to march to my Imperial City. All this is clear, all this is certain, but one thing more yet remains.

You have committed an error *in haste*: be also *in haste* to remedy it, for the English (by whose friendly aid, I and my successors became great upon the Ocean) will be as ready to destroy as they have been to assist. Your navy, like that of Denmark, will be made a spectacle to the universe, and it is not easy to rebuild. Restoration is not in such case to be expected.

If the treaty of Tilsit lasts, Russia is ruined, and an end is put to that career of glory which I began. Every day you will be more and more in the power of France; she will become more able to rule, and you less able to resist.

Russia can only be saved by your undoing what you have done, or by your people throwing off your authority; for the treaty of Tilsit is incompatible with the prosperity of your empire, with your safety and your dignity.

You see the English are at last roused from their long lethargy. They are now resolved to plan with vigour, and execute with promptitude, and their first experiment has been made on the navy of Denmark, the next may be made on yours, and the labours of a century may be ruined in a day.

Of this be assured: without a free commerce, Russia will never be a respectable power, or the Russians a happy people; and whilst England is mistress of the seas, war with it must be your ruin, and I hope neither the Colossal power of France, the partition of Turkey, or hopes of the fall of England, will make you abandon the successful politics of your ancestors.

The power of France, ought to you to be an object of jealousy. The partition of Turkey ought not to be an object of ambition, its entire conquest might be so, but its partition will be a general evil. It will aggrandise the others more than it will you, and as to the fall of England, do not expect that: England has all the resource and riches of a nation advanced in science and in art, and all the patriotism and energy of a rude people; her soldiers are good, and her sailors invincible. Not only are they invincible, but their character is so strange, that, did they not exist before our eyes, we could no more believe in a being like an English seamen, than we do in those fabulous animals the Phœnix and the Salamander.

Many plans for ruining England, by debt, by destroying commerce, by conquering her distant colonies, may be held up to you.—They are plausible to those who know not the English character, but to me they are mere chimeras.

America was wrested from Britain with a view to destroy her trade, but it had a contrary effect, and Britain flourished more than ever.

Her debts have been augmented to four

times what they were only thirty years ago, yet her credit is better than it was then.—She can borrow more money in one day than all other nations can borrow in a year; and as to her revenue, it is more productive and better collected than at any former period.

Those who calculate on the speedy ruin of England, know it not. Do not therefore let yourself be deceived by those specious but shallow projects, that French emissaries propagate all over the Continent.

What I have said is so clear in itself, that I need add no more. Hasten then to prove yourself worthy to occupy the throne that has been occupied by so many able sovereigns since the time of

THE CZAR PETER.

Shades, April 4, 1808.

LETTER IX.

FROM HAMLET, PRINCE OF DENMARK, IN THE SHADES, TO THE CROWN PRINCE, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY ANGRY BOY,

As it is perfectly evident that you are *assuming a character of rage and passion that is not within you*, I beseech you, for the crown of Denmark, not to *overact your part*.

Were you not the crown prince, I should take you for some theatrical monarch, belonging to a company of itinerant actors of stage plays, such as those I called to my aid when I wanted, by an allegorical representation, to sting the conscience of an uncle, and revenge the injuries of a father.

Do not, my dear Prince, tear a passion to rags. Remember my instructions to my players, and be moderate, and do not echo those terrible lines,

"*For Bombardinian hath receiv'd a blow,*
"*And Chronenbotonthologus must die.*"

If your anger is assumed, throw it off.—If it is real, examine the cause.

If the Continent of Europe now acts as one single power, guided by one interest, under your ally the Emperor of the French, of what use was a fleet to Denmark? Was it not an useless expence, since the nations of Europe have stooped to a state of dependence and vassalage? for in the whole of Europe, you had not one enemy with whom the Noble Dane could fight, either by land or by water.

When every other nation had a fleet and an army, a fleet and an army were the necessary appendages of Denmark, but to have fleets and armies now, is only to subject the minor nations to augmented injury, to an accumulation of disgrace. Would it be agreeable to Denmark, to be admitted a sharer of the degradation of the Dutch, or of the Spaniards, that fell victims (at the battles of Camperdown, St. Vincents, and Trafalgar) to the ambition of their cruel master?

If such is the ambition of Denmark, it were well the house of Hamlet were no more.

But what, proud angry Prince, is degradation? The man that degradeth not himself, can never be degraded, for the act of another dishonoureth not.

To be weaker than another, is no disgrace; to be less powerful, or less fortunate, is no disgrace; and to submit to a superiority of physical force can be no dishonour; but when one man counterfeits pleasure or anger, at the order of another, then there is the disgrace, humiliation, and dishonour.

The House of Braganza, fugitive and floating on the Ocean, is in its adversity more respectable than at any former period of its brilliant history; for though it declares its inability to maintain independence in Europe, it makes a greater sacrifice to maintain its independence than any

upon record. To be feeble is not then any humiliation, but to be submissive in a mean manner is.

I care nothing for the conduct of France: that concerns not me. I care nothing for the conduct of England. I never was a prince in England, and was not born in that country, but I feel, and keenly do I feel for the honour of Denmark, my noble country.

To be independent, even in chains, is great. I wish to see its Prince, though in the power of France, remember the dignity of Denmark. This would give me pleasure, but I have no pleasure. Pleasure and I am far apart, we have separated company. I say, to Grief, "thou art my father, and to Adversity, thou art my sister; for the reigning Prince of Denmark is sunk below his rank, and to appease a despot, assumes an anger that he does not feel."—Know, poor prince, thy labour is in vain; for he whom thou servest is never satisfied: he whom thou would please cannot be pleased, and the rigour of thy fate will not be mitigated by thy servility; perhaps it may be thereby rendered worse, for compare the conduct of the man thou fearest to the House of Austria, (which never sunk to meanly forward his views) with his treatment of the House of Bradenburgh, which did so. Take a lesson from this, that the only thing within the absolute controul of man, is his own integrity of mind, and independence of spirit; for as to externals they are not at the disposal of mortals.

"*There is a Divinity that shapes our ends,*
"*Rough hew them how we may.*"

HAMLET.

Shade, April 6.

BONAPARTE's POLITICS.

Continued from Page 143.

WHEN we have given, to their full extent, those rapacious views of ambition and uncontroled dominion, by which this extraordinary man is guided, after shewing him in all his unprincipled atrocity, we shall shew by what wise and wonderful means he accomplishes his end; for though the end in view may be wicked, if the means taken to obtain it are the best, they are entitled to the appellation of wise.

We do not see wisdom in the views of Bonaparte, nor do we see ultimate success; on the contrary, we anticipate a terrible reverse, but the means taken to accomplish the end are different and distinct; we must not confound or confuse them together.—The end we do consider as *bad* with respect to intention, and unwise with respect to the man himself, his family, his connections, and to France; but the means employed to accomplished this end are excellent, they are (viewed merely as means) admirable.

Detesting Bonaparte and his principles in the highest degree, we are not blind to his abilities, and it is not the business of anticipation to load a man with abuse, to call names, or to flatter his enemies at the expence of truth. Our object is to do our country a service, but that is not to be accomplished by flattery or falsehood.

After finishing (for the time) the politics of Bonaparte, we shall give that of those who have failed in opposing him; and we shall shew that though their end was legitimate in all cases, and good in many, yet that their means were in every way inadequate, from want of wisdom and a proper application.

The history of the last eighteen years is the history of the triumph of vigour and energy, calling forth and rewarding abilities, over indolence, egotism, and indifference.

The revolutionists, throw the whole of their energies into a mass, and act as one man in the common cause, though when opportunity offers they rob and plunder for private advantage. Those who are at-

tached to the ancient order of things act quite differently. Robbery and plunder do neither come into the way, nor do they approve of such conduct: in short, they founded no speculation on such acts, but then they threw no private energy or exertion into the general mass, which by that means acted without vigour, and when opposed to an energetic system, had always the worst of it.

From the first breaking out of the French revolution, those who have been at the head of affairs, have always taken the Romans for their model.

MONTESQUIOU's Inquiry into the Causes of the Greatness, and afterwards the Decline of the Romans, has been their constant guide and companion: and let it be remembered, that when Rome changed from a republic to absolute monarchy, the spirit and plans of conquest still continued, and those parts of the republican form that were most valued by the people, were still in name and in appearance preserved.

The senate met for debate, and the rulers of the people preserved their plans, during the most cruel, arbitrary, and oppressive periods. The same has been done in France, and fundamentally the change is in both countries the same.

In the first periods in both countries, the power was in the hands of the people, who acted by representatives. In the latter, the power was in the hands of the soldiers, who acted by means of a military chief or emperor. The great difference is, that what the Romans took six or seven hundred years to do, has been done by the French in twelve or fourteen single years, that is to say, in about as many weeks!!

Should the future progress go on rapidly, in the same proportion, three or four years will see the end of the French empire.

While the Romans struggled against powerful enemies, they were almost constantly victorious, or if not constantly victorious, every war terminated to their advantage; but when the empire had extended as far as it could, with any sort of advantage be extended, when the Romans might be termed, (as they actually were termed) the masters of the world, and when consequently, they had no enemy to fight that could effectually resist their arms; when, in short, they might have been considered as all powerful, they in reality began to decline, and the symptoms of destruction became more evident every day. This might be thought strange, It may be termed inexplicable, but it was perfectly natural, and it will be equally natural for the strength of France to fail, after it has attained its zenith in point of power and extent.

It is very natural that a strong power should conquer a weak one, and by proceeding with one power after another, and attacking them singly, aggrandizement and victory are not only natural, but they may be said to be necessary.

That a great number of nations, should be conquered by one, is then very natural, but it is quite contrary to nature, that any one nation should, for a great length of time, continue to rule over a number of other nations; it therefore follows, that the fall of a nation is probable, after it has obtained power over all the other nations, that are within its reach.

The French nation has now very nearly attained that point; and in a few years, (the revolution having been introduced into Spain, Germany, Italy, &c. &c.) the soldiers and inhabitants will rise to that natural equality with the French, that will enable them to assert their own liberty and independence, such as they in former times enjoyed.

Want of moderation is the great error of Bonaparte; it is the rock on which he must split, if he lives long; therefore the end he proposes to himself is not wise. He is proposing to establish an empire, that, from the nature of things, cannot be perma-

ment; but his means of establishing that empire are in every way admirable, for they are calculated to succeed; and they do succeed in a most remarkable manner.

We shall, in our next, take a view both of his political conduct and military manœuvres, from the beginning of his career to the present day; and we shall shew that he has no very complicated plans; but that decision and simplicity, rather than any thing else, form the basis of his success.

Bonaparte takes every means possible to destroy the energy of his enemies.—Bribes, calumnies, and all sorts of means are made use of; but in respect to his own strength he is equally assiduous, and attentive to its augmentation. Genius and talents, of every sort of practical utility, are well received and rewarded, so that all the men of abilities and talents in France, are attached to the present government. The malcontents consist of men without means or principle, so that he neither fears being counteracted by his enemies, nor of being betrayed by his friends.

How different is this, in most other countries, when the malcontents in general consist of men of talents and energy, and the friends of government are men of a careless easy disposition, who will make no effort, but open their arms to receive ruin and welcome destruction.

The following letter came last week too late for insertion; we do not altogether agree with it, but we do in part, and in general it meets our ideas, so we give it as we got it, and in our next shall return to this subject.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

MR. EDITOR,

OBSERVATIONS appeared in this day's Chronicle, (April 14th,) telling us in doleful strains, that if there should be a restriction from using grain in the distilleries for *one* year; we must expect national ruin to follow, or at least general scarcity or famine, and four-fifths of the Scotch farmers to become bankrupts.

It is, according to the Editors account, "the greatest evil that can befall the country."

Perhaps there may be some ambiguity, in the word country there used. Possibly, the sense of the writer of that article may be, that *large millers with large stocks on hand*, may be considered as the country.

As to West India merchants, with large stocks of sugar on hand, that is a trivial consideration compared with the millers.

Sir, I have in the course of conversation, heard it mentioned, that a chief proprietor of the Morning Chronicle is owner of a large mill. I forbear to make any comment, because common sense will readily supply inferences and consequential arguments.

If there be any necessity for a second title to the Morning Chronicle, let it be the *Miller's Journal*, for correct statements, respecting the ways in which corn may be rendered the cheaper, by restrictions on distillation, &c. &c. &c.

I am, Sir, respectfully,

AN OBSERVER.

ABYSSUS—ABYSSUM.

One Abyss calls to another Abyss.

THESE words of the prophet David may apply to the present state of Europe, where we see the torrent of monstrous ambition breaking down the sluices and dykes of all hereditary and lawful dominion, and sweeping away every ancient and respected limit of individual sovereign power, to make way for the most extraordinary overflowings of pride, injustice, and violence. This, indeed, is one *abyss* which widens deeper and deeper under our feet; so much so, that we

even we, may shortly fall into it ourselves. And shall not this yawning *abyss* of unlawful and unwarrantable ambition, call to another, and rouse into action the most laudable and dignified exertions of valour and courage, in order to hurl down the insatiable *monster* from his eminence; which, raised as it is on a heap of ruined *thrones* and *sceptres*, would soon give way, if *kings* and *sovereigns* had but energy to lead on to the assault?—Yes, I see, I see an opening prospect by *Anticipation*, which awakens something like hope! Extremes, it is said, come to meet at last: if a fire breaks out at both ends of a street, there will be a great chance of its communicating to the whole. In the northern extremity of Europe, we see the general flame of courage and valour not only kindled, but already spreading its active influence to the right and left, repelling the Russian hordes of the ignoble *Alexander*, on one side, and advancing upon the territories of the *slavish Dane* on the other. The guardian powers and protectors of right, will lend their aid, and extend their wing over the laudable exertions of the noble-minded *Gustavus*; and ere long we may still see the deluded Prussians, and stupified Poles, arise from their inglorious lethargy, and repair to their tents. The southern extremity has likewise sounded the alarm; Spain seems to recollect her former energies, and now, though late, begins to labour for the recovery of her ancient independence; and Portugal, though actually under the galling yoke of exaction and violence, though oppressed and trod under-foot by her vile invaders, will shortly emit a flame, which shall communicate and blaze over all Europe: thus the northern and southern extremities will meet.

If I find the above acceptable, and appear in your Paper on Saturday next, you may expect to hear from

MUM.

ESTABLISHED PRESBYTERIAN CLERGY IN SCOTLAND.

WE understand that a meeting composed of men of landed property, called HEAITORS, in Scotland, is about to be held for the purpose of getting a bill passed in parliament, to prevent the lords of session in Scotland from having the power of augmenting the livings of the clergy.

As this matter perhaps may not be likely to be well understood by the English members, we shall state the leading points of the question.

We cannot call a meeting of this sort by any other name than a COMBINATION, and we shall shew that it is with a more unreasonable, if not a more illegitimate view, than any of those entered into by the *snips* and *snobs* of the metropolis, so severely punished by the magistrates and courts of justice.

The established clergy in Scotland were assigned *stipends* soon after the Reformation, when the Presbyterian church was organized in that country, and as by that organization there are no dignitaries, the stipends were intended to be on a principle of equality, subject, however, to local circumstances, which prevented a poor parish from paying as much as a more wealthy one.

The stipend consisted partly in corn and partly in money. The proprietors of land, (generally speaking) paid both, though the corn, consisting of a certain quantity, without regard to its value, was generally paid by certain of the farmers, and deducted from the rent.

Each clergyman had a house called a MANSE, and eight or ten acres of land, called a GLEBE, in order to enable him to live with tolerable comfort.

At its first establishment, the members of the church were well paid, but by degrees

their livings became inadequate to the support of their respectability, on account of the rapid increase of the wealth of the country, and the diminution of the value of money.

As a natural and necessary consequence, a power must be lodged somewhere, of augmenting those stipends, otherwise the church might fall into disrepute, and the clergy become indigent and incapable of supporting that respectability of character, so necessary for those who ought to serve as an example to others.

This power (whether by practice or statute we do not know,) has resided in the court of session; and very much to the credit and honour of the members of that court, they have given relief in most applications where a good case has been made out.

Since about the year 1750, when Scotland began to recover from the listlessness that followed the union, those applications have been very frequent; but the result of the whole is, that the established church in Scotland does NOT cost 200,000l. a year, which is about ONE THIRTIETH part of the English church establishment.

It is not necessary to make comparisons of another sort, but to say that the Scotch clergy are very well known to do their duty in a most exemplary way, therefore they are not over paid. It does not amount to one half-penny per week for each person who can enjoy the benefit of the establishment: that is: go to church twice every Sunday, be attended on the bed of sickness, and instructed, or at least examined as to their progress in the fundamental truths of christianity. Surely, the lords of session cannot be accused of having been lavishly extravagant in paying such services at such a rate.

On what other footing the COMBINATION OF HERITORS can oppose the power of the lords of session, we cannot guess. They have not abused the power in time past—are they likely to do it in time to come?

As the lords of session are all of them men, more or less, of landed property, and some of them extensive proprietors, they are HERITORS; that is, they are of the very class of persons who pay the augmentation of STIPENDS. They are, in fact, a party concerned; and we could easily conceive how the Scotch clergy might find good grounds for a petition against the power being lodged in their hands; but this is quite the other way. The HERITORS at large are not contented with the judges between them and the clergy being composed of their own class: they want still more; and for this they are about to COMBINE; but we shall watch the combination, and tell them some truths they will not like to hear, if they go on, as we have no doubt they will do.

[*To be continued.*]

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

THERE are many advantages arise from an assemblage of persons to execute purposes, that, though excellent in their nature, it would never suit a few individuals to attempt; but there are now two sorts of joint stock companies in this country—the one LEGAL, the other ILLEGAL.

Illegal, in this case, does not signify criminal or improper, but simply what is not sanctioned by the law of the country.

Till of late no attempts were made for individuals to associate without a privilege, which is necessary for any number more than six; but of late a vast number of companies have risen up, without giving themselves any trouble about the existing law.

That an *insurance company* may perform all its functions without a charter, there can

be no doubt; and we find that a beer brewery, on a republican plan, can rival the splendid and aristocratical establishment of Mr. Whitbread: but there are nevertheless great inconveniences, which we shall endeavour to point out, inconveniences that may cause great misfortune to the partners in the end, but which in the beginning is a great loss to those they deal with.

An unlicenced company can neither sue nor be sued in a regular manner, the first consequence of which is, that if any inconsiderable debt is contracted, the claimant must compromise the matter, or submit to any arbitrary diminution the self-created directors think proper. The printer, for example, who credited the society *even in embryo*, before it had a local habitation, or a name, is perhaps ruined by his credulity.

The proprietor, (the framer of the plan) a man probably of merit, always of genius, after he has spent time and money, and given his ideas, finds himself like Actæon hunted down by the hounds of his own pack.

We have some particular circumstances in our eye; and though we are not afraid to speak (and mean if necessary to do so, without fear or fee,) we wish shame and self-conviction to operate.

Let the striken deer go weep,
The hart ungalled play;
For some must watch, while others sleep;
So rolls this world away!!

The history of the Bank of Air, in Scotland, is the last terrible example of the failure of an unlicenced joint stock company; but while we inform those companies of their danger, we shall shew them how they may avoid it; at present we advise them to consider that for a great number to join in oppressing one is *double culpability*: it is double means, combined with double crime.

If those companies do not chuse to take the hint, we shall shew the individuals who are or may find themselves aggrieved, a very effectual way of obtaining justice at a ruinous rate to such societies, as would be ungenerous and unjust.

(To be continued.)

EXCULPATION OF SINBAD THE SAILOR.

As many of our readers may not know the story to which Horne Tooke alluded, when he christened his pupil SINBAD, we shall just give an extract from the fifth voyage of Sinbad the Sailor, who was as lucky a fellow as ever lived, if the *tale be true*.

The ship in which the adventurous SINBAD was sailing, being split in a thousand pieces by the fall of a large stone dropped from the talons of a large bird, called a ROC (which is mentioned by MARK PAUL in his Travels, and FATHER MARTINI, in his History of China, who say it is a bird of so large a size, that it can take up an elephant or rhinoceros, (which certainly require both size and strength) was wrecked on an unknown island, of which he says:

" As the country was so pleasant, I re-
" solved to penetrate further into it, in
" search of inhabitants. I had not advan-
" ced far, when coming to the bank of a
" stream, I saw a little old man, who
" seemed to be very weak and feeble. I
" saluted him, which he returned by bow-
" ing his head, and making signs for me to
" take him on my back, and carry him
" over the brook. I thought he wanted
" assistance, and readily complied: and
" when on the other side, I stooped that
" he might get off with the greater ease:
" but instead of doing so, he clasped his
" legs nimbly about my neck. His skin
" appeared as impenetrable as iron: he sat
" astride on my shoulders, and held me so

" close, that I thought he would have " strangled me.

" The surprise and terror of my situation, " overcome me. I fainted, and fell down. " Notwithstanding which, the old man " continued on my shoulders. When he " found I had recovered, he struck me so " severely with his feet, that I was obliged " to rise, and carry him where he pointed. " At night he made signs to me to lay " down, he continuing his hold about my " neck; and in the morning, when he " wished to rise, he struck me with his " feet, as a signal to get up, with him on " my shoulders.

" In this manner I continued for a con- " siderable time, burthened with this exe- " crable old fellow, who never left me " for a single moment. One day I found " in my way some dry calebashes; I took " a large one, and having cleaned it, I filled " it with the juice of grapes, and set it in " a convenient place. Some time after, I " returned thither, and found my wine " very good. I drank heartily of it, which " raised my spirits, and I began to sing " and dance as I walked along.

" The old man, perceiving what effect " the wine had upon me, made signs for " me to give him some. I gave him the " calebash, and he was so pleased with the " liquor, that he drank it all. The fumes " of it presently got into his head, he be- " came drunk, and sat with his legs much " looser about me than usual. I seized the " opportunity, and suddenly threw him off. " He fell to the ground in a state of in- " sensibility; and with a large stone I " crushed his head to pieces.

" I rejoiced extremely at my deliverance, " and regaining the sea-coast, I met with " the crew of a ship, who had cast anchor " to take in water. From them I learnt that " my late situation had been more danger- ' ous than I had thought it. ' You fell, ' (said they,) into the hands of the old " ' man of the sea, and are the only one " ' that ever escaped strangling by him: " ' as he never left any he had once mas- " ' tered, till their strength was exhausted, " ' when he failed not to destroy them.' "

Such is the wonderful adventure that procured for Sir Francis Burdett the name of Sinbad, just at the very moment that he compared himself to Katerfelto, an itinerant experimental philosopher, alias, a slight of hand man, who, with the assistance of a black cat, used to amuse the populace about the same time that Doctor GRAHAM, with his GODDESS of HEALTH, and his lectures, insulted every thing that was modest or virtuous, in defiance of decorum and the magistrates.

Which of the two names was the most appropriate we do not pretend to say, but it is of no great importance, as the exculpation is tolerably complete, and therefore the name signifies little.

" Why is it," said Sinbad, " that all my " companions have left me? I am aban- " doned by the crew of the vessel, but I " myself have not stirred from the spot.— " I have stuck to the wreck, and I am de- " termined to continue sticking to it, let " those who are friends or those who are " enemies say what they please."

Here the allegory finished, and the sailor was suddenly transported to the hustings at Covent-garden; the NATIVES that surrounded him appeared like a mob of Westminster electors, and the following discourse was pronounced.

" MY DEAR NATIVES! it is very appa- " rent to me that I have been embarked in " a vessel with a crew that steers without " a compass, that are driven by the wind " as it listeth, or that follow the current of " events.

" Those treacherous companions make a " merit of their treachery of their flying " from their duty, and hold me as a crimi- " nal, because I have not followed their

" example; but I am less guilty, at all " events, and certainly more honourable, " though I have spoken in a plainer style.

" Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread, and all the " troop, having once declared, and never " contradicted their declaration, that the " French constitution of 1789 was a glo- " rious fabric, was at least equivalent to " my wishing to *burn the red book*—it was " more: I might burn that book without " quite departing from Whig principles; " but the constitution that Fox prized made " monarchy a sort of mark for Scorn

" *To point its slow and moving finger at.*"

" The mock monarch and his miserable " ministers were merely servants, and ser- " vants without trust or honour. To be a " minister was to be a suspected person, " incapable of sitting in the legislative as- " sembly, at the bar of which (when called) " he appeared like a criminal at the Old " Bailey, to be brow-beated and interrogat- " ed, without either respect or discretion.

" To wear a badge of honour, was a " crime, to permit oneself to be called by " any old title, was a disgrace, and incur- " red punishment.

" The sovereign was the only man in the " kingdom who had no vote, and could " have no vote or will exerciseable, either " directly or indirectly, in the legislature. " He was of no more importance than the " chancellor's seal, a mere inanimate piece " of metal, made for the purpose of im- " pressing a form on the wax of its mas- " ter. All this was approved of (and high- " ly) by Mr. Fox, and I never heard that " any of his party, disclaimed his approval " of that constitution: and so you will " readily perceive, my dear natives, that " he would have done worse than burn " the red book, and that the outcry against " me is very unjust; but never fear, the " good fortune of Sinbad will attend me " still. Meet me here again next Saturday, " and I shall finish my exculpation, but " not at present, for I wish you to take " time to reflect on the truth of what I have " now said, and the more you reflect, the " more you will be convinced.

" Besides this reason, you know the " REAL SINBAD, the ORIGINAL SINBAD, " took seven days to tell his story."

[*To be continued.*]

ASYLUM FOR FEMALE SERVANTS.

Continued from page 137.

WE have now the pleasure of announcing that an establishment of the sort proposed by the letter of our correspondent W. P. is about to be begun. We have received the following letter on that subject.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

The outline, or rather the statement of advantages to be expected from an asylum for the temporary shelter of female servants, I felt, at the time I sent it, was incomplete without calculations and other views of the subject, to support it.

As it is not a matter of gain and loss, there is no occasion to be very exact with the estimate, and the following is near enough for any purpose at present:

The prospectus will be printed and distributed; a number of patrons will be obtained; a banker appointed to receive subscriptions; and then a meeting will be called by public advertisement, to raise funds for a trial, on a moderate scale.

There may be supposed to be about 5,000 servants out of place, upon an average, in London, who are in the following situations:

Have friends or acquaintances to stay with - - -	1,000
Will want the asylum, but can pay 8d. each - - -	1,500
Will want the asylum part of the time, but not the whole of it, 2000, say one half - - -	1,000
	3,500
Want lodging at 8d. a week -	1,500
	5,000

This is 50l. a week constant expence, but the original expence must be made for lodging the £3,500. The estimate then must be divided into two parts, the *original* expence, and the yearly expence,

Original outlay of money for bedding and furniture, at the rate of 2l. each person - -	£8,000
For printing advertisements, &c.	300
Sundries - - -	200
	8,500
Rent of houses, 32 in a house	1,500
Washing, &c. - -	750
	£2,250

The details of this will be given in full, but it is sufficient now to give the outline.

To carry the business to the full extent would require about 10,000l. once expended, and about 2000l. a year afterwards; for which sum about 4000 women, good, virtuous, and well inclined, who may become respectable and good wives and mothers, would be rescued from a great danger, to which they are now liable; or would be aided in the course of a year not less than 40,000, which would not be more than about 2s. 6d. each; and supposing that they, on an average, return five times in their life, then it would be about twelve or thirteen shillings.

In speaking of one institution, it is not necessary to find fault with another; but some sort of comparison may be well.

The Magdalen is an excellent institution, but it costs at least 200l. for each person relieved; so that, in comparison, it is a most expensive mode of restoring virtue, even if it did succeed one time in two, which I have with sorrow learnt is not the case.

If prevention, being better than cure is true, in the common affairs of life, it is doubly so in respect to female virtue.—In that case prevention is fifty times preferable to cure; it is more effectual, and it is much less expensive, supposing a real cure practicable by human means, which, however, is not the case. Once astray, and opinion of oneself degraded, ashamed to meet friends or relatives, amendment, thorough amendment, is scarcely practicable. There are difficulties in the way that the unfortunate and woe-worn woman cannot remove: the opinion and confidence of others is not attainable in any such case with ease; in some it is impossible; and though we may call this prejudice and illiberality, it is so strictly allied with a truly virtuous principle, that we never wish it to be otherwise.

Commiserating as we do the female that has fallen into error, granting her pity (in some cases, unattended even with blame) we cannot wish to see her put on the footing of a woman who had never lost her virtue.—If this were to take place, it would be the removal of the chief barrier and the defence that guards that sex from irregularities, that may sometimes be forgiven, but must always be deplored.

At this trifling expence a great advantage will be obtained, and the subscribers themselves will have better servants, and particularly from one cause, that a servant out of place will have a watch over her conduct,

and must give an account of herself, which at present is not to be expected, as, when unemployed, they are like, what Lord Erskine would call, a loose fish. This will no longer be the case; for when a servant comes now with a good character from her last place, dated some months back, the question "where have you been since?" seldom can be answered satisfactorily, because its truth or falsehood cannot be ascertained, except in a few rare instances.

By these means the advantages will be great to all parties; and if female servants are rendered better, the male servants will become so too: in short, the advantages open upon me as I proceed, and I confess I am sanguine. I expect no sort of pecuniary advantage. Though I am far from rich, or even from being at ease, I will pay the expence of making it known, and for remuneration I shall look to my own mind, even if I should not be successful; but I do not fear, for the difficulties are very inconsiderable.

The plan will be proposed on a small scale at first, for which 2000l. vested in the hands of trustees, will be sufficient; and as they will be persons of rank and character, and will act without reward, the relief will be soon and certain.

London, April 5, 1808. W. P.

THE LITERARY FUND.

Continued from page 160.

THE twelfth anniversary meeting of this admirable institution was held on Tuesday at the Freemason's Tavern; on which occasion, several odes were recited, and amongst others the following, written in the true spirit of that benevolent establishment.

An Address for the Anniversary of the Literary Fund, at Freemasons' Hall, May* 3, 1808—*written and recited by William-Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Esq.*

As the revolving sun, and genial showers,
Inleaf the trees, and renovate the flowers;
To plants long torpid vegetation yield,
And clothe in Nature's mantle all the field!
So this auspicious day returns to bless
Neglected talents pining in distress.
Genius, above the Hypocrite's disguise,
Who scorns by sycophantic arts to rise;
Who ne'er to servile Flattery descends,
To gain a Patron, or promote his ends;
Oft sees his brilliant prospects fade away,
Like glitt'ring ice-drops in the beams of day!
Age steals upon him with augmented care,
'Till Death at last relieves him from despair.

Here letter'd Indigence, Disease, and Pain,
May hope relief, nor find that hope in vain,
For the worst evils gifted minds endure,
'Tis yours to mitigate, if not to cure;
And when, restrain'd, you have not to bestow,
Your hearts in sympathy weep tears of woe.

In ev'ry age, it is the Poet's fate,
To have his worth acknowledged *when too late*—
And who a happier lot can hope to find;
Than *Homer* mendicant; or, *Milton*, blind!
Thro' *Greece* the *Prince of Poets* begg'd his bread,
And barren Laurels crown'd our *Milton's* head!
While *Camoens*, *Lusitania's* pride and shame!
Starv'd in that land which lives but through his fame:

* Being the 12th Anniversary Poem written by Mr. Fitz-Gerald for the Literary Fund.

Spencer, whom *Great Eliza* could commend,
And all-accomplished *Sidney* call his friend,
His golden dreams, and fairy visions past,
His Country left to die in want at last.
Urg'd by distress to write the servile rhyme,
The *Muse of Dryden*, nervous and sublime!
In *Epic Verse* had soar'd a loftier height—
But chilling Poverty forbade her flight:
Butler and *Otway* fill the mournful page,
And *Chatterton*—the victim of our age.
Thus Nations to their *Ornaments* unjust,
Neglect them living, then *embrine* their Dust:
Cruel, unwise, capricious in their plan,
They make an *Idol*, whom they starv'd a Man!

But slighted Genius shall repine no more;
Nor turn disgusted from the Miser's door;
For *England's Heir* a bright example shows,
Of power and will to mitigate his woes.
Perhaps some praise, some merit may be due,
To that firm Band, that persevering few,
Who to an honourable purpose just,
Will ne'er betray their delegated trust;
In Public Life this points the road to fame,
And well deserves the *real Patriot's* name—
Name still rever'd! though often misapply'd,
That *Traitors* fear, and *Hyprocrites* deride!
The Muse, with ardent zeal, invokes thy power,
To warm each Bosom, at this awful hour,
When *Europe's Tyrant*, Europe's strength unites,
Against our *Monarch*, and his *People's Rights*;
Against the *Noble Swede*, who still remains,
Free from the vile dishonour of his chains.

Britons united may *the World* withstand!
'Tis only Faction can subdue this land;
There, in the thoughts of all the *Good* and *wise*,
Our *Foe's* sole hope, and all our danger lies!
When the winds whistle, and the billows roar,
To drive the *lab'ring Vessel* on the shore;
Do seamen then in private feuds engage,
And waste their time in enmity and rage?
Do little jealousies *the Crew* divide,
When *Death* rides ghastly on the foaming tide?
When round *the ship* the elements conspire,
To sink in whirlpools, or to whelm in fire!
No ——————————
The ship in danger, all contention ends,
One common peril makes them common friends;
A gen'rous warmth, and emulation glows,
And *false ambition* cannot make them foes;
Unaw'd by tempests, unsubdu'd by fears,
Through raging seas the watchful *Pilot* steers;
The *Crew united* every danger brave,
And the *Proud Vessel* nobly stems the wave!

True Patriots will forego, at such an hour,
The love of Rule, and quenchless Thirst of Power:
For *rival Parties* have this truth confess'd,
That *England* is above all Nations bless'd!
Where can man call, but near the *British Throne**,
His *House his Castle* and his *Mind his own?*
Let us survey each prostrate Country round,
Where else can Freedom's sacred tree be found?
France, drench'd in blood, its shadow sought in vain,
Holland's enslav'd, and *trebly shackl'd Spain!*
The gallant *Swiss* for ever must deplore,
Those happy scenes that bless'd their vales before;
While poor *Germania*, *France*, in fatal hour,
Seduc'd by Treason, or oppress'd by Power!
And left to *plunder'd Italy* alone,
Her *Scorpion Sceptre*, and her *Iron Throne!*

* The Author has taken some of the lines that follow from his Appeal to the Spirit of the Land.

But could *the Corsican* this land subdue,
Their chains are light to those he'd forge for *you*;
For *England's Freedom, Wealth* and *envied State*,
Are the great objects of his deadliest hate.

Then let the *Spirit of the Isle* appear,
Nerve ev'ry arm, and sharpen ev'ry spear;
Let civil feuds—disgraceful discord!—end,
And ev'ry *Briton* be *Britannia's* friend!
To *Public Love* let *Private Interests* yield,
And *Rich*, and *Poor*, be ready for the field!
In strong fraternal Bands when marshal'd there,
Can any Man of *England's cause* despair?
If such there be, let fear his tongue withhold,
Nor damp the Patriot ardour of the *Bold*;
Let him remember to his lasting shame,
The hour of Danger is the hour of Fame.
Our native freeborn spirit is not broke—
Britons will never bear the *Gallic Yoke*;
Like abject slaves endure the Tyrant's *rod*,
Betray their *Country*, and *offend their God!*
Perish the thought!—for *England* still shall be
Queen of the Isles! and *Empress of the Sea!*
And though degraded Kingdoms round her fall,
Her fame shall rise superior to them all;
Till *Gallia's Tyrant* shall with anguish own,
That *Freedom* makes *impregnable her Throne!*
There *Britons* serve the *Monarch* they revere;
While Nations crouch beneath *the Scourge* they fear——
Let him then trample on a *World of Slaves*,
That Land defies him which commands the Waves!

We again lament that the modesty of those who have, with such care and expence to themselves, instituted this fund, prevents them from making its claims fairly known to the public; surely, if they were known, they would be listened to—individual charity will not alone do. Public bodies—the state itself—the clergy—and, in short, all those who feel the connection between learning and the prosperity of the country, should join in this work, which is the interest of all, but which is left to the care of a few. Where are the great merchants, the contractors, those *liberal men of Lloyd's?* Are they alive to the misfortunes of the *Poles*, the *Danes*, and the victims of every casual disaster, yet deaf to the calls of literary merit in their own country? No; it cannot be. They probably do not know of those claims, or that the Prince of Wales, and some of the first noblemen of the kingdom, have sealed them with their approbation. It shall be our humble but willing task to sound those claims, till they are heard in every cottage in the kingdom, and until the people at large shall know, "that when they speak with enthusiasm of the liberty of the press, they are not speaking of the wooden machine, or of the types, the ink, or other implements, but of the *author*." If, their liberty is of such value, surely their comfort is not altogether a matter undeserving some consideration—a little will do, but a little must absolutely be granted.

The circumstance of this institution having applied for a charter was unknown to us till the public dinner, where the Right Hon. the Earl of Chichester presided with great propriety, at the same time evincing a zeal for the establishment, highly honourable to his feelings. We have no doubt the charter will be granted—to refuse cannot be supposed; but we hope further, that the usual fees of office will be remitted, at least wherever there is no actual expence incurred. We hope this, more for the honour of the persons to whom the fees are payable, than for the sake of the institution; for speaking in the style of ANTICIPATION, we think there will be disgrace attached to receiving fees from funds destined to relieve merit in misfortune.

[*To be continued.*]

DROITS OF ADMIRALTY, AND DROITS OF THE CROWN.

We have got some very curious and very important information about the droits of admiralty, and of the crown, but it came too late for insertion in this week's paper; it however appears, on the general face of the business, that the droits of the king, and the droits of the admiralty, have not been administered in the same manner; and that compositions have been entered into with respect to the latter to a very enormous amount, for compensations apparently very inadequate, and in the former things had gone regularly.

It is very unfortunate that those persons, who, actuated apparently by a desire to thwart ministers, and to represent the influence and power of the crown as too great, generally go to work in the wrong way, when they call the attention of the public to any particular object.

We had occasion to make some severe (and we are certain well founded) remarks on this, in speaking of the striking off officers in the army, which was viewed by opposition in quite a wrong light, and the same is the case now. The application of the money is not the business, for if it has not been disposed of in a wise manner, it has at least been disposed of in a lawful manner, which is all that admits of being inquired into in that respect.

Landed proprietors, of every description, draw their revenues from people who live low and lay hard; and the guinea that has been squeezed for the rent of a cottage and a garden, from a poor labourer, may go to pay for a single cherry, a spoonful of green pease, or some gratification equally useless and evanescent; but this application is a matter of right, not of wisdom, or of generosity, and so is the droits in question.

The schedule printed by order of the house, is a gross insult upon the members; and the gentry at Doctors' Commons must consider them all as ignorant! for, they withhold the secret business, and most important matter. There is not an item set forth of what the prizes sold for; their bills of costs, or the nature of their cargoes; by whom paid, or to whom charged: they say not a word about compromises.—The latter matter perhaps might cause alarm at Lloyd's coffee-house.

We are really sorry the information came too late, for the business is very important, and if we had thought of it in time, we should have published an additional quarter sheet for the purpose; but as it is, it must remain till our next.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Matter has crowded in this week from all quarters; we are, therefore, ourselves much disappointed at being obliged to omit some articles well meriting insertion; but in conducting Anticipanion, our main rule is (according to the best of our knowledge) to give the preference to subjects likely to be influenced by our observations at the particular period at which they are read.

Printed by W. *Glindon, Rupert-street, Haymarket, and published for the Proprietors,* 9, *Newcastle-street, Strand,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

No. 10.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON,
48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors,
24, Porter-Street, Long-Acre

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

TO THE READER.

WHEN we first called the public attention to the ANTICIPATION of future events, and the consideration of what it might be wise and well to do, we thought necessary to take a review of the principal circumstances of the times, and the situation of this country, both with regard to its eternal situation and external relations.

The increase of our readers, many of whom, have of course not seen the first number, reduces us to the necessity of recapitulating some parts of that original review of circumstances, that induced us to begin the publication, the justice of which we every moment find ascertained by occurring events.

In ordinary times it may be sufficient to attend to affairs as they occur, and to let to-morrow provide for itself, and say, that "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" but the present moment is of a very different description from an ordinary one, as it is perfectly evident, that whether this nation continues to be great and powerful or not, it never can owe its greatness to the same circumstances that have formerly existed.

Whatever the fate of this codntry may be, its situation will be different, both externally and internally, from what it ever has been; and as we are at the commencement of a new order of things, measures of

precaution and foresight are absolutely necessary.

At every former period, since the fall of the Roman Empire, the variety of interests amongst nations, if it did not constitute what could be termed a complete balance of power, at least secured individual countries from any very sudden revolution, or any severe overthrow.

The case is now so completely altered, that the revolution and overthrow of a nation is reckoned an ordinary event, and nearly the whole of Europe has undergone a change, and is reduced to obey one master, whose ruling passion is power, and whose predominant object of ambition is the ruin of England.

Whether that is likely to be a durable and permanent state of things or not, we shall consider at a future period, but as it is the existing state of things, it renders the situation of this country perfectly without a precedent, and we ought to be occupied on other affairs than private interests or party animosities; for it is not at all a matter of doubt but *one great object alone ought to occupy us at this time*, THE SAFETY OF THE COUNTRY. The present contest involves the fate of every thing deserving our consideration, for wretched as the nations on the Continent are that kneel to Bonaparte, they are on a bed of roses, in comparison, to the situation to which this island, if conquered, would be reduced.

Those who let personal interest stand in the way of national safety, should consider, that if self is the object, they are wrong, for they must fall with the nation—they act like a seamen, who, when a ship is in danger of sinking, quarrels with the captain about his wages.

The misfortunes of party quarrels is that, though for private purposes, they assume the appearance of public advantage. Those who are out of the administration, say they only want to get in, that they may manage better for the nation! and in ordinary times such a plea may be allowed, because it is natural enough for men to grasp at power and emolument, and an opposition to government acts as a controul upon ministers, without bringing any great danger on the country; but the present case is quite different, opposition does bring danger, and a controul on government, at other times salutary and useful, is now injurious in the extreme. We are now contending for our existence with a power, all the energies of which are directed by a man of great abilities, and who is without any controul.

The contest in that respect is by no means equal, and the disadvantage is on our side; but as this is an inconvenience which we are not likely to get rid of, it is for the public itself to strengthen the government, whoever ministers are, by granting them support; we are not fighting for ministers, but for ourselves, and though we may prefer one set of men to another, or differ in opinion about which are the fittest, yet we must all see that to counteract those who are conducting our affairs, is like fettering our legs when we are going to run for a great prize.

In former times, not only was the continent of Europe divided into different nations, with different interests, but each government was counteracted by the cabals and intrigues of the parties at court, for though there was no regular and constitutional controul, like that of our parliament, yet there was in every court a very real and existing opposition.

Again—what further put England on a footing of equality in this point with other nations, was the public opinion in those nations which limited the exertions of the sovereigns, so that no monarch in Europe, where the form of government was the most arbitrary, could be said to be without controul, as popular opinion limited him in

the exertion of his power in raising taxes, levying troops, and even in many points of less importance.

While the continental nations were in this manner counteracted by each other from without, and controuled by court intrigue and popular opinion within, England with her constitutional and regular opposition in parliament, was on a fair equality; but now matters are very different.

The whole of the Continent may be said to form one mass of power, animated by the will one of man, who is under no controul, either from court intrigue or popular opinion, and that man the inveterate enemy of England.

As the truth of this statement cannot be denied, so likewise it is difficult not to see the natural consequence. If England continues to be shackled in her operations, as formerly, she will be crippled till the season for resistance will be gone, and the energy she may be willing to exert will be of little avail.

The situation of the continent is now such that, if it could be permanent, there is little doubt that Britain would be unable to preserve her independence for any great length of time; but there are many and great reasons for thinking that the state of things on the Continent is not of a permanent, but rather of a very evanescent nature, and that perseverance on our part may enable us to arrive at a period when opposite interests, internal cabals, and popular opinion, will restore the equilibrium, and put nations once more upon a footing of something like freedom and equality.

The great change effected on the Continent renders it impossible for this country to enjoy the blessings of peace, such as they formerly were enjoyed. We shall not, till the state of Europe changes, sit secure, with a reduced army and navy, that do not both together cost five millions a year, as was the case previous to 1793; our situation is therefore changed, whether we continue at war or conclude a peace, which latter state, if it were to be obtained to-morrow, on the most advantageous terms, would, unfortunately, not restore to us the blessings with which it formerly was attended.

As the situation of the country is thus, in regard to the army and navy, and to its expenditure, very materially changed, it is necessary to prepare for a permanent exertion on our part, as peace will not bring with it the usual advantages or the accustomed relief.

[*To be continued.*]

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER X.

FROM MARAT, the *French Gazetteer*, IN THE SHADES—TO PETER COBBET, *the English Gazetteer*, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

WELL done my excellent and worthy disciple!! you follow the right road, when matters are more ripe, you will, I see, do wonders.

When I laboured in my journal, to convince the people of France, that one hundred and eighty thousand lives taken away would give liberty and ease to twenty-four millions of men, it was a sort of political calculation, that displeased some but it pleased the many, and that was my object. You (going in a parallel line) propose

the same thing in another way; perhaps, it is milder in appearance, but in practice it would not be so mild: however, that is a matter of little importance to men like you and me. We calculate on the great scale, and whether the small number are *hanged*, *drowned*, *starved*, or have their *throats cut*, is an object not worth disputing about; and I believe the starvation you propose, by stopping the payment of the interest of the national debt, (though certainly the worst for the sufferers) will go best down in England, for I once taught a sort school in your country, and it strikes me the people do not like blood-shed except in the field.

The number you would sacrifice, however, by starvation exceeds mine, if the proportion between the two countries is taken into account. I suppose the number of people in France to be double that of England, for reckoning that your stockholders enjoy £100 a year each, and the interest amounted, as I believe it does, to eighteen millions a year, then there would be exactly one hundred and eighty thousand stockholders that you would starve, that is in proportion to the population of England, twice as many. To this you will, perhaps, say, that one half of those stockholders have other means of living, and I think that is possible, but then, to balance that, consider the numbers of wives and children whose means of buying bread would fail, and I think you would at least starve three hundred thousand people, which, without taking into the account the lingering miserable death of hunger, is much exceeding mine. Do not, however, my dear disciple, suppose I mean to shew that your plan is worse on that account. Quite the contrary, so much the better, you are now in the nineteeth century, I was only in the eighteenth, and philanthrophy, and political economy ought to make some progress.

Go on and prosper, my dear Peter, but when you rise to eminence by your labours, as I did, take care not to let any fanatical woman-like *Charlotte Cordé* approach your precious person; men like you and I are *national property*; we do not belong to ourselves but to our country, or rather to the human race.

You have not yet been tried in times of difficulty as I was, who defied a whole section of Paris, with the volunteers; cannon charged, and matches lighted, marching against me.—Well, my dear Peter, what do you think I did?—Stop the press, as if the types had been wrong set, or as if I was afraid—No! I got into a dark cellar, under ground, with other types and other presses, and put them all at defiance. I was then more violent, and thought more than once of the way that Doctor Graham blowed up the magistrates and the constables in the newspapers, when they had the insolence to stop his lectures; an event that happened when I was in London, and what is more, when I was with the Doctor, for he was a friend of mine*; and it was from his Goddess of Health that I gave the worthy Pere du Chene the idea of the worship of the Goddess of Reason.

Our exhibition was indeed more complete, for we were neither afraid of justices nor constables, and had our deity, (in the simple dress of nature, in which we all come into the world,) placed upon the altar of the metropolitan church of Notre Dame. It would have delighted you to have been there; but, alas! the nation has retrograded sadly since then, and the heroes who interred me in the Pantheon have become slaves; while my carcase was taken up and thrown on a dunghill. I was a

* Marat was a sort of teacher of natural philosophy, and had assisted the Doctor in his theory and mechanism of the Celestial Bed, &c. He had also the vanity to think he could correct errors in Sir Isaac Newton's theory of light and colours.

martyr to the cause of liberty, and if I had lived, it would not have perished; for never would the bold and intrepid Marat have suffered either King, Emperor, or Pope, to sully the soil of France.

Go on, nevertheless, I beseech thee, and never mind who rails or chides, particularly as I understand you get more money, by far, than ever I did by my journal, though those aristocrates are strange fellows. I was continually calling out to butcher them, yet 1200 of my journals were every day sold to aristocrates. They at one time were my chief support, and I always had plenty of their money.

I dare say the stock-holders encourage your register, but they are fools.

The lamb thy root dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy reason, would be frisk and play.

Lami du Roi (King's friend) did not sell one number amongst the placemen and pensioners for ten that I sold of mine.---What can such people expect, they slight their friends and encourage their enemies.

Apropos, Peter, how did you happen once to be on the other side of the question, and write in favour of thrones, and against the people; I have heard of the conversion of Paul, but of that of Peter did I never hear.

As for me I never changed sides—I never turned my coat; but I will tell you why, I never had occasion to do so, if I had, I might have been like my friend the *patriot Paloi**, or perhaps as bare-faced as yourself; but never mind what I say, it is all in friendship. *Face every thing out*, never blush, and when you are attacked, imitate the gazetteer Cuirassee*, (my old friend Demorand,) the most determined dog in Europe. But to be plain, if accused of changing, do thus:

Those who accuse you will of course belong to the party that you abandoned, why then tell them boldly, you found they were all rogues and villains, and that you abandoned them on that account: do not you think that is an answer, that is a settler! let them reply if they please, or if they can.

You may be curious to know how I do here, but I dare not tell you. Pluto is a bloody aristocrat that is certain; but he is no fool, like those above!—all the energy of Danton, and all the cunning of Mirabeau, added to the duplicity of the Abbe Sieyes, the cruelty of Cuthon, and the luxurious wretchedness of Orleans. As for his wife, *mum!* walls have ears. On the whole I am not well off, only that most of my companions are of my own party, and it will be no worse when you join us. My friend *Robespierre* takes a great interest in all that concerns YOU, and will give you a hearty shake by the hand when you come, though he stutters sadly, and you will never learn to understand him. You may remember he shot away his own chin; and any mutilation inflicted by a man on himself, never is allowed to be done away.

As for me, the wound I got is gone, but my features are fixed by an infernal decree in that horrid stare, that I gave at the time when the beautiful maid gave the mortal wound.

* Paloi, a patriotic stone-mason, who raised himself into notice by making as many models of the Bastile, from its ruins, as there were departments in France, one of which he sent to each: at last, this patriot was made inspector-general of *demolitions*, but the first time he got a considerable sum to pay the workmen, he quitted the soil of liberty, and never returned.

* The gazetteer Cuirassee, was Demorand editor of the Courier de l'Europe before the revolution, one of the most unprincipled scoundrels of the age.

Brissot looks shy, and seldom speaks; I believe the rascal repents, and if so, he may some day leave us, but we had a queer scene with him, when Lauderdale was ambassador in Paris,

Brissot took particular interest in that, and praised the negotiation in the presence of the *bold Danton*, who drubbed him well, and threw him into the mud. I came up at the time, and under pretence of wiping his face and cleaning away the mud, had the pleasure of giving his nose a hellish twist, *(Je lui ai Fordu le nez diaboliquement.)*

This you will say was cowardly, but you know there you and I may shake hands, for the Frenchman who horse-whipped you publicly at New York, is here, and has told me all the story; but do not be afraid, for he promised to me not to meddle with you when you come here.

Condorset and the academicians keep by themselves, but we funk them finely, sometimes by smoaking brimstone. Their philosophy is not proof against this, and when they make wry faces, *Pluto* seems pleased.

If it were not for the tricks we play each other, by the way of torment, and to pass the time, this would be a sad place; but as it is to people that like mischief, it may do well enough,

Go on and prosper, my dear Peter, never despair, and in time you will be with your friend and prototype,

Shades, May 7, 1808. MARAT.

LETTER XI.

FROM HIS SERENE HIGHNESS THE DUC D'ENGHEIN, IN THE SHADES—TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY, IN THE SUNSHINE.

MY LORD,

I am not more certainly the victim of Bonaparte, than you are one of the objects at whom he points, as an obstacle to his ambition.

It is true, that when *Caulincourt* and his myrmidons crossed the Rhine to seize me on neutral territory, and drag me to the dungeon of *Vincennes*, they knew what they were doing, and for whom they acted.—Those who attack you, know also what they are at; but they may NOT know at whose instigation it is that they are acting. They do, not like Caulincourt and his murderous band, know the cause that they are serving. But of what importance is that? The service done is the same, whether the subordinate instruments act from a good or bad principle; whether from ignorance, or a full and criminal knowledge of the consequences.

The French always were a very calculating and combining people: perhaps more so than any other in existence, and they never at any time entered into a contest, or made an attempt of any sort whatever, without endeavouring to discover by what means the victory might be most easily obtained.

Under the old system, where morality, religion, and honour, regulated the actions of men, the field for action, in attaining an object by indirect means, was but of small extent, but now that those limits and barriers are broke down, the only boundary is *possibility*, for *whatever is practicable, it is now held fair to practice.*

According to this new mode of proceeding, it was, that without regard to the injustice and cruelty towards an individual, the offence to an independent nation, and the horror it would excite all over the world, I was selected as a victim, not that I was either occupied, or likely to be occupied in disturbing the new order in France, but because I was obnoxious to the usurper. I was the only prince, of the House of Bourbon, within his power, and on some future day, I might (he thought,) pos-

sibly, quit the passive situation in which I then was.

If to gain so small an object so great a crime was perpetrated, and the opinion of mankind set at defiance; can it surprise you, my Lord, or any other person, that every effort is made to ruin and destroy those persons, who are likely to make any efficient opposition to the views of Bonaparte?

All those public men who have been, or are likely to make a great and efficient struggle to oppose the ambition of France, are marked down as objects of attack, if means should be discovered for assailing them. It is with this view that numbers of emissaries are sent over, or maintained in your country, to excite certain public writers, and public men, to slander and abuse those who are most likely to be of service to their country.

Talleyrand is the most active person in the conduct of this plan, he is an able and intriguing man, added to which, he has been in England, and knows the English character; he knows, also, where to apply, amongst the emigrants, for men capable of serving his purpose. Never, perhaps, since the world existed, had one country so great an advantage over another in point of intrigue, and of emissaries, as the French have over the English at this time.

Great numbers of emigrants in England, know the language and manners of the country, they are also perfectly well acquainted with all the means of obtaining information; and so far from being suspected as idle men from an enemy's country, they generally enjoy a certain kind of confidence, and are paid by the English government.

It is remarkable that your country is so blind to this.—If it will be charitable, why are not all the emigrants sent to a distance from the capital? Is there any advantage from their residing on the very spot where they can, if so inclined, be the most hurtful to their benefactors?

Far am I from wishing to hurt the character or wound the feelings of many very honourable men, who have suffered for their attachment to the family, to which I belong; but while I have a great regard for their character and feelings, I must not forget my own. I must act with that frankness due from a Prince of the House of Bourbon, to a nation that affords it a last place of refuge, and grants it an honourable protection. French emissaries are numerous in London, and all under the appearance of emigrants, so that they are not suspected; and with great art do they insinuate themselves into the confidence of men who have some power in influencing public opinion.

It is by detraction and ruining character that the chief injury can be done to public men, and by exciting discontent with public measures, that the unanimity of effort may be prevented, that renders a nation truly formidable.

As your abilities, and above all, the boldness and determination with which you acted in India, make you an object of fear to Bonaparte, no pains will be spared to prolong that sort of persecution that has been begun against you. You need not suppose any measures will be used to bring the accusation to a prompt determination, for that would not answer the purpose. It is well-known that such an inquiry as is proposed, will terminate in a manner that will leave you free to enter into administration, to prevent which is all the object. It is very possible that those who are most active in the business, know not by what means they are stimulated, but the intermediate agents know well enough. As the British territory in India is held in a way that is not in every respect reconcilable with European rights of nations, it follows that the governors sent out must act in a way, that, by applying to

their conduct, a European standard will appear at least suspicious.* On this ground Mr. Hastings was accused, and on this ground your enemies hope to maintain a semblance of a good charge against you, and before you returned from India the plan was laid in France for that purpose.

To derange these efforts, appeal fairly, boldly, and at once, in your own manly characteristic way, for a decision, with respect to your conduct. You will soon obtain it, and frustrate the views of your enemies, and the enemies of your country.

You will observe, my Lord, that in singling you out, they only take advantage of the circumstance of your having been Governor-General of India, a situation which no man on earth can fill without being liable to have his actions called in question, and as the distance is so great the reign of prejudice must of necessity be long.

Had Mr. Pitt been a governor-general in India, he would have been attacked, and Lord Cornwallis escaped, principally because to attack him was not an object of any political importance; and, owing to a great degree of caution and prudence, and the mediocrity of his talents, as well as his conciliating, or rather temporising way, it would have been more difficult, than with regard to almost any other man.

Appeal, my Lord, at once to your country, and you will be able to aid those excellent and energetic ministers, who have succeeded so well in repelling the power of France, since they came into office, notwithstanding the cry that was raised against them for want of talents.

If to boast were equivalent to possession, the last ministers were mighty men; but if actions well executed and boldly planned, are the criterion for judging, the present ministers have a good and solid claim. You will make to them an able assistant, and rejoice that you are not within the reach of him, who in so cowardly and base a manner, commanded the seizure and assassination of

THE DUC D'ENGHEIN.

Shades, March 1, 1806.

* When Oliver Cromwell was Protector, he threw suspicion on all men of abilities in other countries, as we already mentioned. The prime minister of Spain had a character he could not assail, and an integrity he could not corrupt; but by means of traitorous emissaries, he sent over a letter addressed to the minister, containing thanks for secret services, with an order for ten thousand pounds on the bank of Venice. It was to be so managed, that the letter was to fall into the hands of the King of Spain, who was so well convinced of the integrity of his minister, that he could not believe it real. It was, however, proposed to present the order on the bank, to see if it would be paid. That was done, and the order paid without a question asked. The criminality of the minister was supposed then to be established, and he suddenly disappeared, and was no more heard of. Thus it is, that men of no honour or principle rid themselves of their enemies.

LETTER XII.

FROM GUSTAVUS VASA, IN THE SHADES—TO THE PRESENT KING OF SWEDEN, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

My Dear, Honoured, and Brave Prince,

WHEN mortals are ambitious of reputation beyond the grave, they are not occupied on an idle wish or a vain speculation.

It is natural for grovelling minds who look for nothing but temporal gratification, to despise and ridicule advantages that they term ideal, because they are not capable

of physical demonstration. Those men consider themselves as attached to what is solid, valuable and certain, but they are highly mistaken, and even men of letters, have led the public wildly astray, on this important subject.

The good opinion of ourselves, the esteem of those who are really acquainted with our conduct, and the consciousness of deserving the approbation of posterity, are blessings, even whilst on earth, infinitely beany sensual or corporeal enjoyment of those who are occupied on mere personal gratification. So that in truth what the world terms solid good, scarcely deserves the name of good at all; and what is termed immaginary is quite real.

This would be the case even if the fashionable modern system of the MATERIALISTS were true. Even if death were an eternal sleep, those ignorant materialists would be in an error, for *matter* does not feel; matter does not enjoy, and is neither capable of happiness nor of misery.

As you, my dear and brave descendant, are actuated by this noble way of thinking, but as you live in a vain world that thinks very differently—as your enemies think differently, and as you have great trials to endure, let me strengthen your resolution.

I dislike what is abstract or abstruse, and as there is an English poet, who reduced a number of philosophical truths to a plain form in harmonious and elegant verse, I shall quote his opinion, or rather the result of the reasoning of others, which he had the merit of dressing in an agreeable garb.

Mr. Pope, (the philosophical poet, to whom I allude,) says—

" One self approving hour whole years outweighs,
" Of stupid starers and of loud huzzas,
" And more true joy Marcellus banish'd feels,
" Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels."

I would rather be the present King of Sweden, fighting to protect his capital, than the man who calls himself the Emperor and King, and who is the terror of Europe.

The tyrant may assume the imperial purple, he may wear the most brilliant jewels on his sword and sceptre, and be crowned with a crown of gold and another of iron, but can he have that self approving hour?

" Can all those gems bid pallid Hipia glow,
" Or in her bosom heal the throbs below?"

No, Sir! This terror of your world, this master of mankind, is in reality the most miserable being that exists when in secret, and the time will come when the truth will be brought to light; when the false splendour will fade, and when envy will cease without being succeeded by compassion.

Be then assured, my prince, you have taken the true way both to enjoy happiness in yourself, and to obtain the good opinion of all those whose opinion it is worth while to obtain. You might have been born in more happy times, and you might have had more means to enable you to assert your independence and preserve your country, but the time and circumstances are independent of you; you can but turn them to the best advantage, and that you do. That I am confident you always will do.

You know the Emperor Alexander—well then, when that Emperor returned from the battle of Awerstadt, abandoned by the house of Austria, he returned with self-esteem; he had not succeeded, but he had done his duty. That same Emperor is now miserable. He betrayed his ally, he participated in his spoils; and, except his master, (who is supreme in misery,) he is the most wretched of mankind. He lost much at Awerstadt, but still honour and esteem remained.

At Friedland and Tilsit he lost what he had preserved on the former occasion; and

be lost what he never completely can regain.

If mental enjoyments were inferior to sensual pleasures, if they were also less durable, the materialists would be right, but the direct contrary is the case; for not only are they evanescent and inferior, but they are to be balanced by future consequences, that, on summing up the account, every materialist will at the end of life find he has had no pleasure. He has had no pleasure to recollect, and, what is worse, he has none for which to hope; whereas the other has pleasant recollections, and the expectation of future enjoyment.

Persevere, my dear Prince! You have much to suffer; but the sufferings will be inferior to the pain attendant on the enterprizes of your enemy: and as to the ultimate result you need to be under no apprehension---Sweden and England will outlive the storm, and you will have both the glory and the advantage of being the only King on the Continent of Europe, that has not submitted to the Despot; that has not meanly cringed to Bonaparte, and sacrificed your people to! i EASE and SAFETY! Ease and safety! deceitful words; words used to disguise want of resolution and want of energy, for the most ignorant of those who have fallen, dreaded nothing but immediate danger, and immediate exertion. What wretched calculation! It is thus that the cowardly self-murderer flies into an eternity of woe, to avoid, an interview of an instant.

Be assured, my Prince, that your enemy has never yet triumphed over a resolute foe, and he never will. Analyse his victories, analyse his conduct from the first, and you will see that from his first successes in Italy, (which were owing to the bad conduct of the Austrian general;) to the battle of Friedland, which he owed to the unfortunate weakness of Alexander: he has never engaged an enemy who united great force with resolution and good conduct.

How do the victories of Lodi, of Marengo, of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland diminish, when contrasted with the retreat from Acre, in Syria, defended only by a handful of English and the brave Sir Sidney. A fortress of the twelfth century, (before gunpowder was known,) built without skill, and decayed by length of time, resisted the man who took MANTUA! This single exploit produces on the brilliant career of Bonaparte an effect similar to what a strong corrosive produces on base metal, the lustre is instantly tarnished, and the value reduced to its original and true standard.

Preserve the conscience and courage of a king, let honour still be your guide, and never shrink from danger because it is immediate, in order to embrace destruction that is farther off.

But my brave and dear descendant, what can the founder of your house tell you better than to persevere, to remember your past conduct, the villainy of your enemy, and the difficulties and dangers that were encountered in establishing the liberty of Sweden by

GUSTAVUS VASA?

Shades, May 1, 1808.

CHARACTER OF THE KING OF SWEDEN,

By a Gentleman recently from Sweden.

HIS present Majesty of Sweden is of an uncommonly sedate demeanour, of few words, and a contemplative mind. All his domestic and public actions are founded upon the strictest principles of morality and integrity. He weighed the extent and result of every measure before he adopts it, and once adopted, there is not one

in stance on record, private or public, that he has deviated from it, but uniformly preserves the same constancy and perseverance.

If it it is known, that any new measure is to be brought forward, or any political occurrence in which his Majesty is expected to take a share, the anxiety of the people is to known on which side their monarch has determined? and which ever way it may be, they know it will be sacredly adhered to and persevered in, even at the risque of his Majesty's life and of the kingdom. Thus, upon religious principles he declared war against Bonaparte, for the murder of the Duke D'Enghein, and this war with Buonaparte will never cease, so long as both exist.

He is an example to all men, not only in the outward display, but in the real practice of religion and its duties, and he selects those who are most esteemed for their talents and morality; he superintends the transactions of the state with indefatigable, nay, even laborious application, having only the assistance of two secretaries, men of superior abilities, who are incessantly occupied, not only in the immediate exigencies of the time, in the external relations of the kingdom, its naval and military departments, but the general domestic improvement of the country.

It redounds to his Majesty's honour, that whilst engaged in the foreign war in Germany, he projected and organized a plan for a general inclosure throughout the kingdom; for the benefit of the lower classes, and bettering the general condition of the country, in a permanent way, extending and improvement of agriculture and rural economy in their execution. New canals, one of which, the most important in Europe, will be that which joins the North and Baltic Seas together, through the very heart of Sweden, for large vessels.

If this sovereign were only a private man, he would be one of the most amiable in Europe; but amongst the kings of the continent he has no foil to set him off: we can make no comparison; and there is but one thing his Majesty wants—the means of travelling into different countries, and from observation and experience, learning how to apply to the prosperity of his own kingdom, and the happiness of his own subjects, those principles of political economy so necessary to a country, where individual enterprise is circumscribed, not more by geographical situation and local circumstances than by want of capital and that general spirit, which when it is once awakened in a nation, carries it to a wonderful height of prosperity.

The ambition of Gustavus is that of a good man. He is ambitious of doing his duty, of making his people happy, and of deserving the applause of his cotemporaries, and of posterity; but he has no taste for vain-glory, and will never sacrifice principle either at the altar of interest or of personal vanity.

COMPARISON BETWEEN WEALTH ACQUIRED BY COMMERCE, AND WEALTH ACQUIRED BY CONQUEST.

WEALTH procured by commerce, far from degrading a nation more than wealth procured by conquest, does not degrade it near so much; and the reason is easily understood. Whenever a commercial nation becomes too corrupted and luxurious, its wealth vanishes, and the evil corrects itself; whereas, a country that lives by tribute received from others, may continue for a considerable while to enjoy its revenues. This is so evident, that it would be absurd to enlarge on the subject.

The reduction of Carthage, and the wealth it produced at Rome, soon brought on a change in the education, the nature and the manner of acting, both in private life and public concerns. The conquest of Greece, Syria and Egypt, completed the business; and the same people who conquered every enemy, while they retained their poverty and simplicity, were themselves conquered when they became rich and luxurious.

After the fall of Carthage, (considering circumstances,) it is wonderful that the Carthagenians made so excellent a stand against the Romans: for a long time they were victorious; they fought excellently, even at the battle of Zama. The Romans could not say so much for themselves, when afterwards they were attacked by the barbarians.

Rome was fundamentally changed; but the armies still continued to act. Their ambition was now strengthened by avarice, and became ten times more active and dangerous to other nations. They then carried on war in every direction, and neither the riches of the East, nor the poverty of the North, could secure other nations from the joint effects of ambition and avarice.

But the Romans did not only get gold and and wealth by their conquests, they became corrupted by adopting the manners of the inhabitants of countries, that had long been drowned in every voluptuous pleasure.—Then it was that they ceased to trust so much to their bravery for their conquests; they began to employ policy and intrigue to divide their enemies. With the poorer states, they found gold a very useful weapon, and, with the richer, they employed weapons of iron.

The terror of the Roman name, the actual force that they could exert against a powerful enemy, and the facility with which a weak one could be silenced, (till a proper opportunity arrived from his destruction,) were all calculated, and force and fraud were both called into action.

Whatever truth or honour the Romans had amongst themselves, they at least had none towards other nations. They, in the most wanton manner, interfered in every quarrel between strangers; and, whenever it suited their conveniency to make war, they begun without almost being at the pains to search for a pretext. They set themselves up above all opinion, while, at the same time, they required all nations to submit to theirs.

In a city where all great offices were elective, the evil effects of the introduction of riches were soon displayed. The first great changes were, that the people became corrupted, dependant, and degraded; fortunes became unequally divided; the provinces groaned under the heavy contributions of generals and pro-consuls; and, at last, the country splitting into factions, the government was overturned.

The splendour of Rome augmented, as a fiery meteor shines most bright before it falls; but the means by which it obtained the ascendency over other nations, had long been at an end.

The same laws that were found excellent, when the state was small and poor, did not answer now that it had become great and splendid. The freedom of the city, and the title and privileges of a Roman citizen had been very widely extended; they were, therefore, become an illusion, and a very dangerous one for the public weal; they served as a foundation for cabal and intrigue of every description.

Towards the latter days, after all those internal causes of decline, which are common to other nations had rendered Rome feeble, several external ones began to act. The provinces became exhausted, and those who ruled them gradually retained more and more of the money. Thus, while the oppression of the provinces was augmenting,

the resources of the state were daily on the decline.

The first effect of conquests had been to free the people at home from taxes; and when in a state of poverty and simplicity, the effect was advantageous, and tended to preserve that spirit by which the Roman empire aggrandized itself. After wealth flowed in from the destruction of Carthage, donations and shews were in use. The Roman populace, idle and degraded, clamoured for corn and public games. It is almost as difficult to conceive the degree to which the character of the people was degraded, as it is to give credit to the wealth and luxury of the great, in the latter days of the empire.

Agriculture was neglected; and the masters of the world, who had obtained every thing for which they contended, while they preserved their purity of manners, now became unable either to govern others, to protect themselves, or even to provide food. Sicily and Africa supplied the Roman people with bread, long before the empire had become feeble, and even at the very time when it is reckoned to have been in its greatest splendour in the Augustan age. The cause of its decline was fixed beyond the power of human nature to counteract; it began by unnerving the human character, and therefore its progress was accelerated and became irresistible.

[*To be continued.*]

THE LITERARY FUND.

Continued from page 179.

We return to this subject incessantly, because we consider it as a business where every thing depends upon a long pull and a strong pull; and that if once done, it is done for ever. We consider, likewise, that though in regard to those sort of moral essences, the combinations and productions of the human mind, such as the literary fund, there is not any natural or necessary rate of arising to maturity, as a plant or an animal, the productions of nature; yet, if the progress of advancement is not sufficiently quick to occasion some sort of enthusiasm, the success never will be great.

Had the efforts made to procure relief for the emigrants when they first came over, been equally great in point of expence and exertion as they were, but made less rapidly and continued longer, they would not have had so much effect.

The impulse of mind upon mind, resembles, in many cases, that of matter upon matter in the communication of motion. A heavy body with a slow motion, whatever its momentum may be, will not by simple contact create a rapid motion, neither will a slow friction generate electricity.

It is not altogether the quantity of a power that regulates the effect the connection between the time of action, and the quantity acting, is always a matter of importance in estimating the effect that is to be produced.

A sort of electrical enthusiasm requires to be excited in order to obtain charitable relief. We remember attending a sermon preached by the reverend and eloquent Dr. Harrison, at Birmingham, about thirty years ago. Towards the end of the sermon (in favor of poor debtors confined in prison) in the most moving part, but without interrupting the discourse the money was collected, and there was scarsely a dry eye or an empty hand in the church. The contribution amounted to three times what was expected, and most of the auditors on comparing notes (as is done in provincial towns amongst people who know each other) found, that each had given much more than he intended.

The annual dinner and the excellent odes

lead to excite enthusiasm of this sort, but it is only amongst those who do not require a stimulous, the subscribers alone, are those with a few exceptions, who are present but if the public could have heard the following ode recited, it might have had an effect something similar to Dr. Harrison's sermon.

Verses for the Anniversary of the Literary Fund Society, May 3, 1808, *written by* CHARLES SYMMONS, *D. D. and recited by* MATTHEW BROWNE, *Esq.*

WHEN Xerxes fled from Sparta's lifted spear;
And, hid in Susa, deem'd the foe too near:
Removed by conquest far from war's alarms,
Greece, beauteous queen of science, arts, and arms,
With conscious pride, her matchless sons beheld
Contend for glory on Olympia's field.
There the light racer, with aerial soul,
This moment starts—this moment gains the goal.
There the strong wrestler vaunts his limbs, and there
Herculean muscles launch the disk in air.
The noble strife applauding crowds survey'd,
And hail'd the perfect work which Nature made.
But when, advancing for his lot of fame,
With musing mien the sage Historian came!
Display'd the golden records of his page,
Where chiefs and patriots live from age to age:
When, seated high amid the gazing throng,
The Bard harmonious roll'd his flood of song,
Full of the God, whom all his strains confess'd:—
Unwonted rapture swell'd in ev'ry breast:
Each eye was fasten'd on the wond'rous man;
And Asia's victors were unheeded then.
The crown was to the brow of Wit assign'd;
And all allow'd the triumph of the Mind.

Where'er Society's ripe form has spread,
The sweetest flowers have circled Learning's head.
All that in life consoles, sublimes, or charms;
The adornings of fair Peace, the pride of arms—
Spring from the studious power: by that untaught,
Man's force were brutal, and his labours nought.
The flame may glow without a master's hand:
But soon it dies, or wildly wastes the land.
Foster'd and train'd, it lastingly supplies
Health to the heart, and incense to the skies.

In heaven, their birth-place, as the Muses sing,
Their harmonies delight the Eternal King.
But oft to man, in mercy, from his throne
He sends the bright intelligences down.
Bids them reside on earth, celestial guests,
And live and kindle in some finer breasts.
There with creative influence to inspire
The radiant vision, and the thought of fire:
And thence, in light and power, to emanate;
To gladden nations, and to make them great.
But thoughtless nations ill these gifts repay
With airy praises, and a shadowy day:
To Earth's low sons the feast of life assign;
And leave the Muse-illumined race to pine.
To those, like Jacob, corn and wine are giv'n:—
To these, like Esau,—but the dews of Heaven!

Ungrateful Britain! that thy lustre glows,
The centre gem on Europe's regal brows,
Is not because thy reaching arms are spread
From the sun's orient to his western bed:
Is not because the waves obey thy power;
And Commerce floats thee with a golden shower:—

No!—'tis because, when first, by Heaven's decree,
Thy white cliffs glimmer'd o'er the subject sea,
The assembled Muses claim'd thee for their own;
And sovereign Genius made thy land his throne.
There, to partake the power that each supplied,
Freedom he wooed, and won her for his bride.
Then, with bright energy, and eye sublime,
He shot his burning spirit through thy clime.
From mind to mind the etherial essence flow'd:
Here spread in judgment; there in fancy glow'd;
And, as through all the faculties it ran,
It open'd and matured diviner man.
Some with dissecting intellect, it taught
To trace the fine anatomy of thought:
Some to explore the force, opposed to force,
That holds the circling planets in their course:
Some to pursue the comet's devious flight:
Some to untie the colour'd threads of light
And some to pierce to life's conceal'd retreat,
Deep in the mystic cells of air and heat,
One pen it tipp'd with magic to controll
At will each passion of the conquer'd soul:
Nature in all her various tints to draw;
And image worlds which only fancy saw.
One mind it lifted on a wing of fire,
Where never mortals durst before aspire,
To view the secrets of the dread abyss;
And range the sapphire fields of deathless bliss.
Pleased with the Sons of Soul, from Fame's high shrine.
Their Sovereign gave them crowns, that richly shine:
Crowns, which their filial love, with homage meet
Heap'd in resplendant order at thy feet:
A glorious trophy there, through endless days
To tower, and gild thee with reflected rays.
Their Monarch smiled, and gave them what he could.
Wealth was not his:—he made them great and good:
And, Britain! then, thy generous soul to prove,
He fondly left them to thy guardian love.
Now speak their fortunes from thy grateful hand.—
Of teeming earth was their's some wide command?
Was their's the sumptuous board?—the embroider'd vest;
With nobles seated, and by kings caress'd?
No!—in yon fane their cold requital trace,
Where weeping marbles their pale ashes grace.
Present the worth was starved;—adored when gone:—
It ask'd for bread, and has received a—stone.

Ungrateful Britain!—but thy shame is past:
Thy torpid Justice warms and wakes at last.
Urged by few, who, nobly, understood
That letters honour'd were their country's good;
The Virtue walks abroad, with Pity near:
One stirs reflection, and one draws the tear.
Faithful to Science and her suff'ring train,
That pleads the claim, and this imparts the pain:
Till, by the associate energies subdued,
Blend in our ranks the Great, the Wise, the Good;
Till, with the spacious heart and affluent hand,
The Kingdom's Heir avows our patriot band:
Shows that, undazzled by the lures of state,
He knows the genuine secret to be great

And tells his Britain, that with Learning's smile
Expand the pride and blessing of her isle.

Yes! Britain owns us as our powers dilate:
Though her proud eye o'erlook'd our infant state.
Not often round the sun has wheel'd this earth,
Since a dim embryo point disclosed our birth.
The germ of being, with a parent's breast
Our Founder nursed, and, brooding, warm'd the nest.
Fed by his care the downy feathers spring:
And now to heaven expands the vigorous wing.
From every plume distill ambrosial dews,
Grateful to man as fostering to the Muse.
On Carmel's summit when the Prophet sate,
His bosom beating for the birth of Fate,
A sky of brass in flamy hardness spread,
Glar'd on his eyes, and smote his hoary head:
Till a small cloud, arising from the main,
Cheer'd his sick heart, and spoke his faith not vain.
With gradual shade the aerial blessing stole
On the fierce day, and veil'd the burning pole,
Then prone and rushing, the prolific Power
Whelm'd thirsty Judah with a vital shower.
Exhausted realms the liquid vigour quaff'd;
And on her hills and vales exulting Nature laugh'd.

LEWIS XVIII. AND FRENCH PRINCES.

Continued from page 86.

As this country is entering into what appears intended as a permanent connection into with that unfortunate family and its appendages; let us put on our considering cap, as president Jefferson is now doing relative to his connection with BONAPARTE. *We may both be right, we may both be wrong, and we both ought to consider of it.*

The *Rubicon* runs before us, let us look across—let us also look behind.

The subjects to be investigated are,

1. The feelings of the French Princes towards England.

2. There conduct before they left France, when in power, affluence and prosperity.

3. Their conduct at the head of the emigrants.

4. Their conduct since, particularly respecting the declaration of Lewis XVIII.

5. Lastly, the danger that we must either mantain perpetual war with France, or at some future day, submit to the humiliation of abandoning the Bourbons, now become by their own conduct, obnoxious to the French nation.

It is with regret that we have the appearance of adding to misfortune; even though it is only to prevent misfortune on a greater scale.

As to the feelings of the Princes towards England, they together with the Queen, were the persons who instigated the unfortunate King to the American war. The Count Dartois, with a numerous train of nobility, went post through Spain to see the Rock of Gibralter burnt or blown up, though through the obstancy of OLD ELLIOTT, the COCK OF THE ROCK, the fire works did not go off right, but by some accident singed the principle performers.

The revolt against the Stadtholder of Holland, was excited by the same cabal. The Ambassadors of Tippoo Saib were received by the same cabal, and Bonaparte at this very moment has only the honour of working on plans, which they had the will, but not the vigour to execute.

So much for our obligation to these gentlemen, but those obligations are undeniable, and we hope that they will not be forgotten.

MR. ODDY,

Author of EUROPEAN COMMERCE, *particularly displaying the Trade of* RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, DENMARK, *and* SWEDEN, *with their relative Interests, &c. &c.*

We are very happy to learn that this intelligent and ingenious gentleman, who was been established at Copenhagen in the mercantile line, about a year previous to the siege, and was there during it, escaped, we have learnt, without any personal injury, or any other molestation from the Danish government, than, as an Englishman, he might have expected.

The interest excited for the fate of a deserving individual is one thing, another is, the excellent account he will some day or another be able, and we hope, willing to give, of the whole transactions of that important moment; for he is equally capable to observe, and accustomed to observation.

It may appear strange, to those who do not know the nature of man, that a stranger, who has no particular motive for his attention, often makes more progress in obtaining general and useful information, than all the English travellers and well-paid agents abroad. Mr. Oddy is one of those strangers; and though it is every day less important to consider the insufficiency of ours foreign agents, because our foreign connections are now confined to a very narrow compass; yet it is a pity we have not some more perfect knowledge of the state of affairs in Sweden, a country at all times very interesting, but particularly so at this time. Sweden, now the only country that neither is subdued, nor likely to be subdued by France; and with subjugation, in the present times, the corruption of morals marches hand in hand.

Mr. Oddy's book on the commercial resources of this country, written two years ago, evinced knowledge derived from experience of affairs, and travelling, joined to an ardent mind, very zealous for the good of Britain. We cannot but regret that such men are absent from their country, and not employed to look to our commercial interests abroad.

In our next number we shall give a description of a British consul or commercial agent, in a foreign country, contrasted with the intelligent activity of similar agents in Britain. We have seen and suffered through the easy indifference of those subordinate representatives of Brtain, who frequently are more formal and important than a prime minister, and often more careless than the general interests of their country warrant, and as we have no particular bias to influence us, we shall take up the subject only as one, in which the general prosperity of this country is materially interested.

(To be continued.)

FASHIONABLE ROOMS IN ARGYLE STREET.

As much pains has been taken to impress the public mind with an idea that this assemblage of the fashionable and polite world is not conducted in a correct manner; we shall, in our next, shew the contrary to be the case, and that, far from being a society assembled either for improper or contemptible amusements, the plan is execellent.

Private assemblages of people at each others houses must, from necessity, be conducted on a plan that is rather too much connected by private feelings. People are often invited that are not welcome, to avoid offence; and others go who would much rather stay away, for the same reason. At

public places under the complete controul of MANAGERS, as they are termed, though it would generally be much better to term them MISS-MANAGERS, (albeit they have nothing feminine about them) the great world is sadly ill treated; it is therefore well to have a medium sort of entertainments, that are neither open indiscriminately to all, nor subjected to individual preferences.

England is a country famous for clubs, and they certainly have advantages. This institution is, in fact, merely a fashionable club; and though it is neither a gaming club, a drinking club, or a smoaking club, we beg John Bull to have a little patience, till we prove that it is a refined, an amusing, and an innocent club.

Those who wish to render the higher classes obnoxious to their inferiors, and to sow discontent in the country, are the persons who have occupied themselves in misrepresenting this establishment.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

Continued from page 173.

It was our intention to have continued this subject, more fully to day, than we have done. We have two reasons for delay: the first is, that the society to which we alluded, is shortly about to hold a meeting of its proprietors, and before that time, its directors, may probably *on consideration*, remove one of the injuries we complained of. And we are always more anxious to excuse, atone for, and repented error, than to excite the feelings of regret, which would be consequent of the execration, with which the public would look on an unjust and infamous procedure. Our second reason is, that we purpose to enter regularly, the nature and extent of every company of the kind in London, and we shall freely discant on any acts of injustice, committed by any one of them, which we know, or which is sent to us well authenticated. And on every occasion, want of gratitude in any such society, will be marked in our minds as the deepest of crimes, as the most unwarranted oppression. Every exertion, whether for an individual, or a nation, is entitled to its reward, and if ever a nation ceases to be grateful, she almost commits an act of suicide, for it was this hope which produced her greatest statesmen and warriors. We have had heard something like an act of this kind, we will make enquiries, notice it in our next, if the statement made to us is authentic.

[*To be continued.*]

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

MR. EDITOR,

I am but just arrived in this metropolis from the Continent, where I have been, in the midst of those commotions which have agitated the northern parts of Europe; the last three years, I have been twice in the hands of the French, besides experiencing the continued inconvenience, the result of the measures of Nap. Bonny, to which I had almost become reconciled as matters of common course, insomuch I thought only that a hardship, which was directly levelled at the person of every Englishman; the abuse of his country was the standing sauce-dish of every meal, and for intermediate refreshments too.

Landing on the shore of this heaven-indulged island, according to what I had been accustomed to on the Continent in entering any new country, or state, or even travelling in them, I thought of my pass, though when I left my native country, I knew, as a born Englishman, I carried

it always, signed and sealed, in my heart, and my feet. But from the new and persecuting system on the Continent, I concluded in my absence, by one consent of my countrymen, from what I heard abroad, some wise and judicious regulation had been made, to prevent spies from coming to England, or rather, securing them when they did come, as many foreigners speak the English language with the purity of the natives, and thus insinuate themselves into the country, or facilitate themselves out of it, by the acquisition of other languages on their return.

To come to the point, I posted up in joy and triumph to town, but whether upon wheels, my heels, or my head, I really cannot tell; for what with the animated appearance of nature, just vegetating, the freedom in the countenances of every soul I met, and moreover, never being asked for my pass, so elated those spirits, before humiliated and depressed, that I feel, even at this moment, light-headed, as you will suppose.

Safe arrived at the coffee-house, I always frequent, the paper I discovered then lying on the table, was your ANTICIPATION, which struck me in so forcible a manner, from the anticipation indulged on the Continent of the destruction of this country, the ruin and bankruptcy of the people, that my heart palpitated instantly, for the belief the paper anticipated in this country, what I had daily been in the habits of hearing abroad. I hastily asked the waiter "what the devil" without reading a line, "thing this was." With *sang froid* he replied, "it is a new newspaper," and does it preach the ruin of the country, I asked. "Ruin, Sir!!! why no, it is believed to be impartial, and that it tells every body what they may expect, ministers too, if they don't do for the nation, what all ought to do"

The fellow's answer pleased me so highly, I skimmed over the paper, and so pleased, that I sent for all the numbers; I have perused them over, and, Irishman like, just finished the first number last; your preface in opening the business, is so laudable, manly, and independent, that I have instantly sat down to give you the state of things, at home and abroad, as they strike me in your own spirit, but certainly not in the stile; so that if you will receive this, be in silence, as a proof of my approbation of your line of conduct, do; or if not, I anticipate your next number will express the continuance of my ideas, that John Bull, his cow and his calf, may know by your *Anticipation*, the sentiments on the Continent, lest he is overtaken with ruin, before he *anticipated* it himself, in the *Anticipation of his enemies*.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I am well informed by a friend newly arrived from America, that all men of sense and moderation condemn the conduct of Mr. Jefferson, in respect to his bias in favour of France. It has been notorious ever since the money was lent to purchase New Orleans, that the President was under French influence; but that will not, in the end, be any loss to England; for the idea of the executive being acting under influence of a foreign power, is a cause of a double jealousy and displeasure at every step taken by them. It is a cause of serious uneasiness and anger; and if any event arises, the president's person will not be over secure.

America is but a rough half-turned, and half-inhabited country; but the people are brave, and of an independent spirit, and

will neither be brow-beat, bullied, nor imposed upon.

On the whole, I am convinced we shall have no war with that country.

A MANUFACTURER.

London, May 10, 1808.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

SINBAD the sailor disappointed the natives of Covent Garden last Saturday. He had been so busy, trying to prevent the British nation from being flogged, as he called it, that he had no time to proceed with his own vindication.

This was quite in character. He was minding other peoples business, more than his own. We hope the natives will not be left gaping, like so many oysters for the tide next week. Sinbad should recollect the anger excited by the bottle conjurer, when he dissappointed the people.

The observations on Lord Ellenborough's relief to debtors, owing less than twenty pounds, met with our approbation; but though it seems to us a very inadequate relief that is proposed, we observe with pleasure, it is announced as a trial of his principle, which, if found good, will be extended. No! we set a great value on, and though we admire that sort of generous enthusiasm, that would rush to give relief to the unfortunate, yet in matters of national regulation, it is necessary to proceed cautiously, Besides, we are glad to see something done, and consider it as a beginning of a system, that will overturn the present absurd and inhuman practice of unlimited imprisonment for debt, which is a disgrace, both to the understanding and the heart of those who first contrived so absurd a method of procuring payment, as well as to those individuals who have recourse to the practice. It is because our correspondent expresses himself two violently, and appears to be rather irascible, that we decline inserting his article. Let him recollect the story of Don Quixote, when he interfered between Andrew and his master.

We have read attentively the vindication of Alexander Davison, Esq. about the coals, and we think the Gentleman's interest will not suffer from the delay of another week.

The proposal for Oil Skin Cloaks for soldiers on duty, could not find a place.

We thank a theatrical critic for the offer of his strictures, but it is a subject we are not a judge; besides, if we try to please every one, we may finish by displeasing all. We confess the stage is important, and lament that depraved taste, that prefers *Mother Goose*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, and *Alli-Baba*, to pieces of real wit and humour, such as used to please our forefathers; but we approve of the system of a division of labours and do not wish to embrace too much.

The letter relative to Army Chaplains, came too late for insertion, but it well deserves a place, and shall have it. Religious principles are not at this time to be sacrificed to a trifling economy. Let us think on the near connection between the throne and the altar. A connection never supposed to be so strict, or intimate as it is, till the French Revolution broke out. Even Bonaparte is attentive to the protection of his religion in his own country.

Printed by W. *Glindon, Rupert street, Haymarket and published for the Proprietors*, 24, *Porter Street, Long-Acre*, AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N°. 11.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON,
48, *Rupert-Street, Haymarket.*

Published for the Proprietors,
24, *Porter-Street, Long-Acre*

SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8*d.*

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

TO THE READER.

Continued from page 183.

ANOTHER circumstance of importance, at the present time, is the situation of commerce, from which this country has been supposed to derive principally its wealth and importance. We have not yet had time to know how far the new situation of things will affect our prosperity; or whether the effect may not be more sudden and severe on some of the nations on the Continent, but of two things we may be well satisfied—first, that the more we increase the inconvenience to continental nations, the more likely will they be to break the coalition, and resist that arbitrary power by which they are at present governed, and that, therefore, by annoying them we decrease the chance of durability, in the present inauspicious order of things.

In the second place, if we seek for new channels of commerce, and new fields for industry at home, we increase our resisting power—we diminish the inconvenience of the present order to ourselves, and thereby augment our chance of coming off with safety from the contest, for it is for safety and existence that we fight, it is not for possessions, for glory, or for victory.

To improve our own condition and annoy the enemy, are then two things, after which,

we ought strenuously to endeavour, and all hands and hearts should unite for the purpose, without any other consideration than the good of the country.

One of the evils attending the happy constitution of England is, that being complicated in its operations, the time and attention of those in power, and of members of parliament, are so taken up, as not to forward many improvements, of which this country is susceptible, which were at all times desirable, but are now become necessary.

To point out the modes of meliorating the situation of the people, and of augmenting the resources of the country, will be one of the principal objects of ANTICIPATION; and at the same time, by taking a free and unbiassed view of public matters, those who choose to avail themselves of it, will have more time to turn their attention to the improvement and augmentation of our resources, and in general, to the bettering of our situation as an insolated and independent people.

It has been so much the custom in this country to represent the nation as on the brink of ruin, that the adder has become deaf; but without insinuating that the country is in that situation, it is very certain, that if we do not find out other means of supporting our power and importance than we hitherto have done, that it soon will be so; we have, therefore, no time to lose in debates about what has been done, and about who was right or who was wrong; we must take things as they are, and make the best of them, if we mean to be employed with efficient utility for our own preservation.

It is meant here expressly to state, that those improvements in the interior, and those exertions to promote commerce abroad, which at former times would have been LAUDABLE and BENEFICIAL, have now become NECESSARY and INDISPENSABLE, and therefore do not admit of delay, but requires all the promptitude that is consistent with success.

Any common observer must know that, of late years, the greatest part of the time of the representatives of the nation has been occupied, when in parliament, with objects that have but little connection with the great business of the nation. It can scarcely have escaped notice, also, that many of the subjects, most attended to, have come as if by accident before the house, or, if not accidentally, at least without any particular design, so that at the end of the sessions more than one half of the sittings have been occupied with objects, that, before it began, were not at all in contemplation.

At the present moment, there are some things of very great importance that require attention, they are far more important than discussions about Mr. Gifford of Dublin, or Sir Home Popham, or even the affair of Denmark, which is past and gone; or those series of discussions that will take place, on matters not yet thought of, and that will be forgotten in less than a week after they have been discussed.

Of the objects hitherto obtaining attention, the one that is most intimately connected with the interests of the nation, is the orders of council, but the business has hitherto been managed in a way that is not much calculated to promote advantage, as few of those who have spoke on the subject seem to understand it; and, unfortunately, the orders are so drawn up and worded, that things are very difficult to be understood; whereas, it would be of vast importance to have them made as intelligible and simple as possible.

One leading feature of the present day is, that the same persons who were enthusiastic admirers of the revolution, which overturned the mild monarchy of Lewis XVI. in order to establish a mixed government,

rejoiced still more when that was overtured, kingly power abolished, and a sort of a republic put in its place; but what is more surprising still, is, that the same men are partial to most of the acts of Bonaparte, who has crushed liberty and threw both the bantling and its cradle into the den of despotism.

They admire, enthusiastically, those great talents that must indeed astonish all; but but they do not condemn (or if they do, it is with great tenderness and apparent reluctance) or throw blame on any of the actions of the Emperor Napoleon, that are certainly at total variance with the principles they once admired.

It is, also, not a little remarkable, that the same men are very severe on any act of the English government that seems in any way censurable, for which conduct it is very difficult to account, except it be attributed to an attachment to whatever is *new and French*, and an antipathy to whatever is *old English*.

Certain it is that love of liberty, regard for an honourable, a generous, or humane conduct, can attach no one to Bonaparte; yet, men who boast much of their devotion to the cause of liberty, speak in terms of infinite complacency and respect of the man who tramples it under his feet. This is not the least of the wonders of this age, and it can only be credited, because we are so positive that it is so, that we cannot doubt or deny its reality.

The aggressions of France on neutral territory are now so common, they have been so long practised, and so often repeated, that they have ceased to attract attention. They are considered as mere matters of course, and it would appear as if the maxim had been adopted; that custom constitutes right.

Those who are not very old may remember, how the seizure of the insignificant territory of *Avignon*, by the French, in the beginning of the revolution, was condemned by the majority, and defended by a few; but now the seizure of a kingdom is considered as a matter not deserving any sort of investigation. Those who are injured, scarcely complain, and those who commit the injury, do not deign to offer an excuse.

Taking in view all circumstances, both physical and moral, there is a total change on the Continent of Europe, and that change is very unfavourable to this country; and sooner or later, must either produce a change here, or be itself again changed; for we never can be so blind as to indulge in the expectation, of things going on as they formerly did, in this single spot, when all over the rest of Europe they have undergone an alteration!

We have then to choose, whether we are to sit blindfolded and wait for events, taking all the evil consequences that result from what comes upon us when we are unprepared; or by ANTICIPATING the case, provide for that new state of things, which will most probably arise from the present new and uncommon situation of affairs.

With respect to such subjects as are to be brought before parliament for discussion, we shall endeavour always, as much as possible, to get possession of the rights of the case, so, as by a fair statement, we may abridge the labour of those who will have to take the matter into consideration.

A great number of questions that come before the House are so involved in details, that they are unintelligible to persons who do not take long time to examine them, and it is impossible for them to form any decided opinion; so that an honest man votes with those he thinks most likely to be right, or he takes a plain and once general view of the question, and votes accordingly; but though this is in many cases little better than voting by chance, there is yet another and a greater evil, which is, that gentlemen

who have not made themselves masters of a subject, are liable, without any fault of their own, to be biased by what they hear others say, who, perhaps, are interested. It is to be hoped that ANTICIPATION will be of utility in preventing that; for we shall endeavour to treat every question after the best information has been obtained, in such a way as will be easily and generally understood. We shall be particularly careful not so suppress any circumstance of a case that may be of importance in forming an opinion.

The subjects to be anticipated will be such as really are to come before parliament, such as ought to be brought before parliament, and such questions as arise out of the present rapid current of events, and are connected with general prosperity.

We do not pretend to have no bias in political opinion, such pretensions are dishonest and absurd, as well as an affront to the public. Neither do we think if a person could write or act without a bias, there would be any great praise in that. We do not understand honour founded either on ignorance or indifference, though dignified by the name of impartiality.

The honor or blame lies in the motive for the partiality, not in the partiality itself, because it is impossible for any man to be without forming an opinion on a subject in which he is interested; but to use a home argument, if, to be of no party is the mark of an honest man, there are but few of that description in England, for every person takes one side or the other; and when they become so indifferent as not to do that, we shall no lenger either be able to preserve liberty or deserve to enjoy it.

Maintaining, then, that impartiality is impossible, and that it is not in the thing, but the motive, consists the good or bad, we avow our determination to lean to the government of the country, and support it, but not in that blind manner that is both guilty and dangerous.

We shall neither approve nor blame a measure, because it originates on one or other side of the House, but take it on its own merits; considering, however, in all cases, that men in office are compelled to act, and being men, not angels, must sometimes act wrong; and that to be able to rush from under a cover, and load them with abuse, is not very difficult for men who have any augmentative abilities, aided with eloquence, wit, and sophistry, and a high pretension to honor and morality.

Having already said WHAT we mean to do, we shall now say HOW we mean to do it. The ordinary, or usual mode in political affairs is to begin by arguments, arriving by degrees at a conclusion; but that method has a considerable disadvantage, at least it appears so to us, in so far as it leaves the reader at a loss to know what is the ultimate intention and the end proposed, so that the whole has the appearance of what is termed, in common and familiar language, a PREAMBLE.

No man ever followed a better plan than Euclid in his mathematical works—whether problems or theorems, he began by saying what he could do, or what he wished to try if he could do.

When Euclid wished to shew that the three angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles, he began by saying, that there were so, and then went into his proofs.

We shall endeavour, to the best of our power, to follow the method of Euclid; for though we know well, that the conclusions we draw from the nature of things, cannot be so positive and certain, yet that is not any reason for not following the method which is quite unexceptionable.

Those readers who know the difference between the absolute and positive conclusions (of which mathematical questions alone

admit) will not expect that on other subjects the demonstration can be equally undeniable; but admitting and allowing the difference that arises from the nature of the investigation, we hope they will approve of the method, and as our conclusion cannot be so absolute, so our positions shall be laid down with diffidence.

We claim their indulgence, and trusting to their good-nature, shall, as far as in our power, try to prove what we are inclined to think; and we hope they will at least give us credit for never attempting to make a parade of reasoning in favour of what we do not believe to be right.

Sophistry we despise—good sense we admire—and if ever we adopt the former or abandon the latter in any argument, it will be from ignorance, not from intention; for our idea is, that this country is really in a very serious situation, and that its true interests ought to be sought after with seriousness and good intention, and not sported with as matters of little importance.

Ever since the gothic darkness that succeeded the fall of the Roman empire, men have exercised their talents in argument; and from the time that Abelard founded the Paraclet, and reasoned to his scholars in the desert, to the present moment, there have been professed orators and professed metaphysicians, whose great pride has been to maintain what they did not believe, and by beating down their antagonists, display their superior abilities.

We take a more humble, and we hope a more useful, and we are sure a more honest rule—that is, *to speak what we think*, and explain our meaning as well as we can, and let those who do us the favour to attend to what we say, judge.

Farther explanatinn we suppose unnecessary, let our work speak for itself.

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.
LETTER XIII.

FROM BEAU NASH, IN THE SHADES —TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY LORD,

THOUGH there is but one way of coming into the world, yet there are many ways by which, when a man is in it, he may force himself into notice. There are several ways of expressing this: He may become *great*, *notable*, or *notorious*; or he may become remarkable, merely because he chooses to do what does not well befit his station in life.

If, for example, your Lordship had chosen to carry a *hod* amongst the Irish labourers, at the building of the new houses in Piccadilly, you would on that account have become a remarkable man; not that there is any thing very great in carrying a hod, more than in being a viscount; but that to see the same man, who is a viscount, carry a hod, is a very remarkable circumstance.

Few men in England have been more remarkable than I was during my lifetime; and I began that career of public notoriety by *riding through Bath naked, on the back of a cow.* It may seem a little strange that a man who began his career by outraging decorum in so extravagant a manner, should be chosen as master of the ceremonies, which, in polite circles, is nearly equivalent to the office of church-warden in a parish; but the fact is, that this exploit made my fortune. My

patrons judged from that, (and they judged rightly,) that I was beyond the reach of shame, and therefore the fittest man possible for regulating the ceremonies at Bath.

Now, my Lord, I observe in you the same eccentric turn of mind that was observable in me, at the time when I rode upon the cow in that remarkable manner.

Your Lordship had for some time been a member of the House of Commons unnoticed and unknown, till it came into your mind to second a motion made by Mr. Paull. You backed him as I backed the cow, and with as few arguments as I had clothes; your only motive, as you explained it, being "because it appeared that nobody else would do it!!"

Now, whether this was the effect of reason, or of interest, it was just the way to become remarkable, for so he will always be who does what *nobody else will do*; as for example, if riding naked on the back of a cow had been as common as it is for fine ladies to walk about nearly naked, or to ride on donkies, I should never have got into notice by that simple exhibition as I did; but, like you, I did what *nobody else would*, and so rose to fame and reputation.

I observe since then that you are become a member of the fashionable world; for in the Morning Chronicle, or some other respectable paper, which professes to shew "the very body of the time, its form and pressure," I read that, *Lord Folkestone is just returned to town, from a visit to Mr. Cobbett!!* Thus, my Lord, you are become a fashionable man; the newspapers have an eye upon your motions, and an English viscount is now insisted into the train of Peter Cobbett and Co.

Well done my Lord! Beau Nash, naked on a cow, was not more out of his place, and therefore you are as likely to become remarkable; and when a man *has no talents*, eccentricity, impudence, effrontery, or any thing else, provided it is beyond the common pitch, will do the business.

How it should happen that by mere accident you took up to the cause of Mr. Paull; and that by a singular chance, that should be exactly the cause you wished to espouse, I leave to your Lordship to explain, but so is the case, according to your own account, and I do not know how any one can venture to doubt your veracity, as you are now become so great a man, as the intimate of Mr. Peter Cobbett, and the prosecutor of Lord Wellesley, though all that is only a matter of mere accident.

When you have lived a little longer, my Lord, you will learn how to give a little more the air of probability to that which you would wish to pass for truth; though, perhaps, you may wish to become remarkable for the improbability of your assertions, or the absurdity of your opinions, which, by the bye, are no bad ways of becoming famous; and as to be so is your ambition, I advise you to go on: for I can, assure you, there is a chance that if you do, you will, in a short time, become a man of great notoriety.

Wishing you may live as insignificant a life, and die as guiltless as I did, I remain, my Lord, with the most profound respect, and with great regard,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
Most humble,
And most devoted Servant,
BEAU NASH.

Shades, February 4, 1808.

LETTER XIV.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON IN THE SHADES—TO BONAPARTE IN IN THE SUN-SHINE.

SIR,

AFTER having closed my mortal career, with the approbation of my fellow citizens, during which, my great aim had been to give liberty and happiness to my native

country. I am still anxious to preserve what I was at such great pains to establish.

It is with infinite pain that I see my countrymen interfering in the politics of Europe, and a dupe to intrigues.—I am sorry to see, that French gold, in the form of bribes, has made its way into America; for though I am not ignorant that one of the great disadvantages of an economical government is, that its members lye open to be bribed by richer nations; yet, I thought the Americans had two things in their favour. Those were their distance, and the small importance of American politics, to any of the powers in Europe.

I did not then know, that a man like you, would ever be able to place himself at the head of a nation; a man, who does not appear to set any bounds to his ambition, and whose sole pleasure seems to consist in harrassing mankind, in ruling over others, and in banishing peace from the surface of the globe.

Neither did it occur to me, that it might become an object to France, to deprive Britain of the commerce of America.

I farther did expect, that if such circumstances should occur, as would make other nations wish to bribe the representatives of the citizens of the United States, they would not have less virtue than the Dutch rulers, who resisted equally the bribes and the threats of Spain, when she had the treasures of the west at her disposal; and was by much the most powerful nation in Europe.

How much I have been mistaken. The last few months have fully discovered to me, and to all the world.

Not having then any longer to count upon your moderation, or on their distance from Europe, or the incorruptibility of my countrymen, may I not expect something from giving your ambition a better and a more worthy direction?

I do conceive that every man who is ambitious, wishes his efforts to produce something permanent, and if so, you are destroying the object you have in view. It may appear to you, perhaps, that all the aggrandizements of France, and the allies, or rather vassals, with which you have surrounded her, tend to give permanence and stability to your empire; but, without disputing your abilities or penetration, I must beg flatly to differ from you. No situation of things that is constrained, coercive, or unnatural can be of long duration. For the truth of this, I appeal to history, from the earliest ages to the present time, not wishing to put my judgment in competition with yours, but referring to documents, the authority of which is indisputable, as being contained in the history of all nations, both ancient and modern.

If then your ambition is to give permanence to your empire, be moderate in your views, and do not force mankind to abandon their ancient comforts, usages, habits, and customs, for assuredly they will seize the first opportunity to reverse an order of things, which deprives life of its comforts, and humbles the pride of all those who are compelled to a reluctant submission to your will.

The British empire is the only obstacle in your way to universal sway: but it is an obstacle you will not easily remove; you have tried it in war without success. Its ruin, by means of its increasing debt, is now not to be expected; for, by the perseverance, the integrity, and wisdom of the administration, the dangerous crisis is gone past, It is now over, and your great hope seems founded on the ruin of its commerce. Hence arose your anti-commercial system, and your intrigues with America; but know most obsinate and sanguine man, that this of all others is the least likely to succeed; Britain has resources of the extent and duration of which you can have no idea, bred as you have been amongst war and bat-

tles. The French never had such resources, and never could comprehend them even in peaceable times, much less can they do so now that they are involved in bankruptcy, and all the evils that want of faith, of honour, and moderation bring on.

Not only will Britain be able to withstand your efforts, but they will recoil on yourself with great rapidity and violence. Britain cannot be deprived of commerce to such a degree, but that with cultivating internal resources, and new channels of trade, she may continue to prosper; but what will become of Russia, your new and great ally, without commerce?

It requires no great knowledge to be convinced that Russia cannot exist without selling the produce of her extensive provinces, and in the present way of waging war, it can neither sell its own produce, nor purchase those articles of luxury to which it has been so long accustomed.

In one word, your system will recoil upon yourself, and your ambition will not be gratified in a permanent manner, for where there is no moderation there is no permanence; be assured of this, and though I can have no hope of changing your disposition, I may, perhaps, have some reason to expect that you will take the trouble, or (in the language that suits your greatness,) condescend to reflect on the nature of my council, and see whether it is not founded both on experience and common sense; and that, therefore, though your vanity might lead you to reject, prudence may lead to a contrary conclusion, and induce you to grant mankind that repose of which it has so long been deprived, but to which it will sooner or later return, after the ruin of all those prospects, founded on a state of perpetual warfare and coersion.

G. WASHINGTON.

Shades, May 7, 1808.

BONAPARTE's INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO ENGLAND.

As nothing is so directly, the object of this work, as to awaken the country to a sense of its danger. We, at the request of several persons of respectability, re-insert the following which was beforein two numbers, (7 and 8,) we now give it *all in one*, repeating what we already said, that we are as certain of the authenticity of the information, as we can be under the present circumstances.

BONAPARTE's PLAN FOR CONQUERED ENGLAND.

1. To carry off all the men of importance, or of abilities, in the country, and to make them settle in an obscure way, in various places on the Continent under a vigilant guard, and if any one is ever found returning to England, military execution instantly, on their being identified. That is, to be identified and shot.

2. The estates to be distributed among the French officers, to whom rewards are due, according to their rank, merit, and services.

3. No Englishman to be left in possession of more than fifty acres of land, all estates above that to be forfeited, and given to the French.

4. One-third part of the estates seized to be sold to foreigners, and the produce paid into the treasury.

5. A list to be made out of all persons of rank, distinction, or property; the males to be carried out of the kingdom; the ladies to be married to Frenchmen, or to be compelled to emigrate.

6. All the volunteers to be sent abroad, those of a proper age to be distributed in the armies, like the conscripts, such as are not to labour in their own trade.

7 All the great manufacturers of cotton, and of whatever rivals France, together with the work people, to be removed. Such as cannot be removed, to be destroyed.

8. The Bank of England, and all public establishments to be seized, on account of the Emperor.

9. Secretion of property, in all cases, to be punished with death.

10. The French language to be taught in schools, and the English language abolished.

11. No universities to be allowed in England, but the present revenues to go to universities and colleges on the Continent, such as the Emperor may appoint, and there the youth of England must be educated.

12. The name of the island to be changed from that of Britain, to that of the Appanage. (The Appendage)

13. Not more than one-fourth of places, civil or military, ever to be occupied by persons born in that island.

14. The conscripts of the island always to serve in the armies on the Continent, and continential troops to garrison that insular country.

15. In the new distribution of lands, the boundaries of the estates to be altered.—The counties also to change the number and their name.

16. The Tower of London to be destroyed; all batteries and fortifications throughout the country; the wet-docks, harbours, and conveniences, either for mercantile or a warlike navy, also destroyed.

17. London to be reduced to half its size, and all the bridges broke down except London Bridge.

18. The best artists and manufactures in every line to be transplanted to the Continent, with their families.

19. Opposition to the will of the Emperor, in any case, to be punished in a summary manner with death.

20. In any case, not foreseen or provided for, the French Chiefs, to whom the government of the country shall be entrusted, to be the judges, and to have a right to cause military execution to take place according to their own judgment.

21. In case, by the above regulations, one half of the male population of real born Englishmen shall not be carried away, then the remainder to be removed by lot, or according to the persons pointed out by the French constituted authorities.

22. The Catholic religion to be established in Britain, on the same footing that it is throughout the rest of the French empire, and divine service to be performed in French in all the churches.

23. All magistrates, clergy, and teachers, to be Frenchmen born.

24. All those, who directly, or indirectly, oppose, or throw any impediments in the way of the execution of those decrees, to be punished summarilly with death.

MEANS OF ACCOMPLISHING THE PLAN.

At the same time that Napoleon is preparing destruction and desolation for England, he intends, when his hordes of banditti land on her shores, to speak peace and comfort, to promise liberty and happiness till he becomes the master, thinking that Englishmen will obey him, but in that, we trust, he is mistaken.

A proclamation to the following effect will be issued when he arrives.

" Englishmen!

" The Emperor of the French and of Europe, Napoleon the Great, the father of the people and the scourge of kings, comes as your friend and protector.

" Freedom of worship, security of property, the abolition of taxes, and the restoration of happiness, are the blessings he offers to those who receive him as a friend.

" The world knows how the emperor treats his enemies.

"Englishmen! receive the French as brothers, and their emperor as your father, friend, and deliverer.

"Prosperity and peace to those who listen—death and destruction to those who resist.

"Signed NAPOLEON."

Such is intended to be the bait held out to Englishmen, but we trust it will be held out in vain; for the true intention is in the former resolutions already published, and indeed the whole of Bonaparte's conduct, since he first obtained the command of the army in Italy, to the present day, is a proof that he only flatters till he is the master, and that then he knows nothing but rigour in the extreme.

The disposition to destroy Britain for ever, and to prevent any future rivalship, will be still more evident when we arrive at the end of his plan.

Our informant, (for a particular reason, not necessary to be explained,) asked one of those who seemed to understand best the future plans of Napoleon, whether Ireland would not be well treated? "Ireland!" said the Frenchman. "They are troublesome and difficult to govern; Napoleon encourages them now, but be assured he mortally hates all such as resist authority, and the fate of Ireland is fixed. The youth will be called out as constripts to serve on the Continent, and 100,000 foreign troops will be quartered on Ireland, and all insurrection or discontent will be punished with instant death. This is the short and simple plan for the Irish; whether they will like it or not, I cannot say, but they will never be consulted that is certain, and men of a mutinous disposition will find Napoleon a severe master."

Such are the plans with respect to Britain and Ireland, and now comes the ultimate and grand plan of Napoleon.

France shall be the only independent and imperial nation.—No other shall have a marine force, nor be allowed to trade either to Asia or to America. The harbours, internal fortifications, &c. shall be destroyed, so that there shall be universal peace and submission all over the world.

The only great national expence will be the military, to which all surrounding nations shall contribute, and the taxes on the French shall be done away and supplied by duties on trade, all of which will be carried on by the French, and in ships built in France.

The state of mankind will be new, but it will be free from those wars that have always hitherto desolated the world, and whatever the state of other nations may be that of France (as the great central and imperial nation,) will be such as the greatness of her national character points out and deserves.

Those who collect the plans of the first revolutionists in 1790, 91, and 92, for an universal republic, will perceive a great similarity between the general tendency then and at present.

The great outline is, that France shall be mistress over all the nations; and as to the form of government, that is an inferior object with them, and indeed we find that whilst they have varied completely in the form, they have preserved a great many of the same projects, that arose during the first effervescence of the most decided democracy.

The vanity of the French, (which always was and always will be their ruling passion, and the secret spring of all their movements) requires that the nation should be held up as the chief, and under that idea they will submit to any inconveniency, but we hope that they will be completely disappointed, if they think they can deceive, cajole, or delude England.

There are a variety of other parts belonging to this gigantic plan, which we shall give in our future numbers, but the

great detail consists in his plans for the execution. What he aims at is extremely simple, being nothing farther than to make France the mistress of the Continent, and to reduce the British Islands to a state of insignificancy.

Whilst all this has long been planned, and the most extraordinary man alive is labouring to put it in execution, we are caballing and intriguing, opposing ministers and sowing dissention in Ireland!! This truly is not as it ought to be, but it is surely the case, the danger that may follow is great, the disgrace that is incurred is certain.

BRITISH NATION, *versus* Mr. PALMER

IT has seldom happened, that any case has occurred, where the British nation has ever had the appearance of stretching justice to its extent, in order to avoid overpaying an individual, who had done it an acknowledged service.

The case of Mr. PALMER is an exception, and for the sake of national character, we shall endeavour to set it in its true light, (which does not appear to have been done) in such a manner, as to enable the public to judge, that is, to enable those to judge, who having no particular concern in the business, can only devote a small portion of time to the consideration of it,

As for the question, there are various modes of examining it; but the main business is, the value of the service rendered; and we hope government will take it up in that way, for if it were to set up merit as the foundation for high remuneration, the nation would soon be bankrupt.

Mr. Windham, said with great justice and truth, that a per centage was the best criterion, but a man who pretends to be a commercial man, and who by some means, has got to be a member of Parliament; says, "that the per centage, was for personal services as a manager." He thus tries to confuse the question, but these persons must be very ignorant, or very inattentive, who will give him the least credit for his observation.

When Messrs. Bolton and Watt, introduced an improvement into the construction of that admirable machine, the steam engine, they bargained for a portion of the money they would save to the proprietors of the works. They did not bargain for 2 or 2½ per cent. but for one clear third, free of all deductions; and so equitable were the conditions thought, that the whole of the miners in Cornwall, at Newcastle, and other proprietors of engines through the kingdom, paid the money with the greatest regularity and satisfaction.

One single mine in Cornwall (chase water) paid £2400 a year for three steam engines, and so complete was the conviction of the justice, that they agreed to pay so much money for every 1000 strokes of the pump, upon the simple calculation, that with the old sort of engines they would use, four bushels. With the new they would only require one, and that three being saved, they would pay the price of one, to the inventor who procured them the advantage. The proprietors gained 100 and the inventors 50, such was the proportion in a transaction between men of business, repeated all over the kingdom for a number of years.

Mr. Palmer's small remuneration is upon the same principle, though infinitely inferior in amount, and one should think that a great nation ought at least to be as fair in its dealings as individuals, and with due defference to the commercial member of the House of Commons, we state this well known fact, But it is said, Mr. Palmer got a place, and that was his reward, losing the place, he had nothing farther to demand.

This is of all others, the most shallow, the most unfair statement of the case.

Mr. Palmer, first offered his plan, to be paid if it answered, to get nothing if it did not, and on that principle, he was first treated with, but the subsequent appointment, so far from superseding that, proved its reality.

As Mr. Palmer, could not give all his time away, it was necessary that for personal services he should have a regular salary, for by the first bargain, it might turn out that he would have nothing, for there was no certainty, (whatever the expectation might be) that the revenue would be increased.

Again it was impossible to suppose that a place dependent on the will of a minister, (as it afterwards turned out to be,) could be substituted for a per centage, on gain arising from a plan which when once given and adopted, was as much at the disposal of the nation, as if the nation had invented it, and as much out of the power of the inventor to profit by, as if he never had thought of it.

No man is in a more pitiable, or a more helpless situation than an inventor, when once his invention is got into the hands of others, who have the power or the means of resisting his claims. A fine woman, who has lost her virtue to a faithless man, is scarsely an object of great commiseration.

As to merit, that, as we have said is out of the question, where there is *value received.* A biscuit baker, for example, that contracts to serve the navy with bread, might be rolling in affluence when the great Lord Nelson was in indigence; and there are thousand examples to prove that this is the principle, on which things must be conducted.

Having said this much in order to lay to sleep the question of merit, we must say something more, in order that the sleep may be a sound one, and not a slumber.

Mr. Palmer had nearly the whole of the post-office and all the post-masters in the kingdom for his enemies, trying indirectly to counteract his plans and make them fail. A great deal of irritation was the unavoidable consequence, and the Phallanx had the advantage in interest, in numbers, in a cloud of witnesses, &c. &c.

It is sufficient that Mr. Palmer procured the advantage to the country, and his removal afterwards is rather a proof of the power of his adversaries than any thing else, unless it proves that those who removed him, bore with all his bad qualities till he had perfected his plan, and then "threw him like an useless weed away."

The wonder is that, with such opposition, Mr. Palmer succeeded, not that he got enemies, and it will make a pretty enough contrast to state the result of his plan, and what he got, with the report of the committee, on the profits of Mr. Anthony Todd, who, by a calculation of another sort, had a premium or per centage, on the post-office expenditure, besides being actually a partner in the packets to foreign parts.

If rigorous justice is to be done, let it be so, but let no party be spared; though we cannot help observing, that the propriety of a government, acting generously towards individuals, rather than otherwise, is the only real apology for many of the places and pensions that have been granted.

But, let us look at other things; let us look around. We defended the pension to Lord Lake; but, are public services only to be rewarded because they are performed in India?—Or, were Lord Lake's services more real?—Mr. Palmer has procured about five millions of revenue to the country since the plan began, and the advantages will continue. Have Lord Lake's victories procured as much? or will their benefits be equally permanent, and equally durable?—This is no reflection on Lord Lake, but can it be answered?

We think, to say more would be unnessary.

THOUGHTS ON SUICIDE.

THE paper, entitled "Thoughts on Suicide," came to hand, and the sentiments expressed in it deserve every approbation, but it does not come to the point, which we apprehend, is intended; and which, we acknowledge, is abundantly important.

It does not enter into our plan, to discuss the subject, and to reason over the case, either as a divine, or a moral philosopher would do. That would be too wide a field, if well and completely done; and to treat it loosely would not answer the purpose.

To speak of causes, and point out remedies, are the more direct objects of this publication, and we are not at a loss to enter on those subjects.

The relaxation of religious principle, the ridiculous idea of liberty to do as one pleases, are first causes, and the false delicacy or misplaced humanity of the coroner's jury, who ascribe suicide to lunacy, take away the horror by doing away the shame.

The law says, every crime should be punished, and so says eternal justice; but suicide is a crime of a very peculiar nature, for by its very commission, the criminal escapes the reach of human punishment. To affix a stigma, a mark of disgrace, of dishonour and disapprobation to suicide is the only way to prevent those, who have some value for the opinion of mankind, from committing the crime; and let those who attend at a debating society in the evening, and hear suicide considered as a mark of determination and courage, witness next day the exhibition of a self-murderer exposed to public view, with a label on his forehead—*a murderer, who feared not God, and who hated and defied man*, and then see whether the ideas of Roman virtue, whether the sentiments of the debating club will preponderate.

The coroner's juries are badly instituted, and, in our opinion, as there is a rule for distinguishing between manslaughter, homicide, (justifiable,) and murder, in cases of second persons, so there ought to be between the man and himself.

If no cause for the rash action is assigned, then it is murder clearly; but, if under the positive influence of despair, jealousy, or any of the violent passions that domineer over the human mind, for a time, then lunacy will be a fair verdict.

It is not of the dead man and his relations that the jury should think; their business is to do justice to society, and they should determine without respect to persons.

The expedient used at Sparta, when it became a sort of fashion for young women to commit suicide, is well known; the exposure of their naked bodies in public, soon put an end to that; and we should do something of the same nature.

If our correspondent will give us his ideas we shall be obliged to him; but we must observe, that we can neither enter into the question as divines, or as moral philosophers, neither will we attempt to prove that it is a proof of cowardice, or of bravery. Much may be said on both sides, and therefore we shall say nothing; but it is a crime, and should be prevented, as it happens to be one that cannot be punished by man. Disgrace is the only expedient we can think of: it is the only one that has ever been tried with success, for the lamentable infidelity of the age prevents the sufficiently general influence of religion.

Let the coroner's juries do their duty, that is the first business; and if that will not do, let the law be altered, and the disgrace attached be of a more degrading and impressive complexion.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC QUESTION

Continued from page 156.

THIS business is now again about to be agitated to the injury of the nation, and the no small disgrace of those who, without any hopes of success. without the smallest idea of obtain ng what they appear to want, are perfectly certain of creating discontent in Ireland. Irritation in this country and loss of time that ought to be precious at this moment.

We shall not repeat our arguments on this subject, which are conclusive and unanswerable, but we shall re-capitulate what we have proved.

1, That equality with the established church, is what alone will satisfy the catholics.

2. That equality in religion is impracticable, unless all *religion by establishment* is done away, for that otherwise, every different sect might require and ought equally to obtain an establishment for their church.

3. TOLERATION, not equality is then all that can be granted, and that is granted —it is already enjoyed.

From these facts it follows, that the Roman catholics are either ignorant of what they are seeking, or they are seeking what it is impossible for them to obtain, supposing them to be fully gratified; and we have Mr. Grattan's authority for saying that giving a little more than they have, will be of no sort of utility.

But supposing the catholics had fair claims, and that the gratification of those claims were possible, is this the time to bring them forward. We can see no expectation, no reason for chusing the present moment, unless they be founded on a belief that Britain is already nearly overpowered and cannot resist. If so, surley the men who urge the claims ought to be ****

We have another opinion still as to intention. We believe it merely a matter of party, and that opposition are so blinded by their own feelings, as not to see the state of their country. They are so ignorant of what has passed, and what is passing on the Continent, that they do not see the danger of this country. They do not look to the last ten years, but to the last century; and they see that Britain has withstood her external enemies and triumphed over the factions at home. They think this will always continue to be the case; but there is not a greater, nor a more fatal mistake, than to count upon the uniform and regular succession of events for centuries. The history of all countries in all ages, shews that there is no stability in human affairs, and that unless the conduct of men is regulated by circumstance, so as to counteract them when adverse, and to turn them to advantage when otherwise, prosperity is very evanescent.

As to all the circumstances relative to this country, they are changed within these last eighteen years. We may say the same with respect to the world, and therefore to argue that we may debate and cabal without danger, because we have debated and caballed formerly without danger, is just the same as if a man in a fever were to expose himself as if in full health. That is equivalent to saying, that it is madness in the extreme, and madness attended with the most imminent danger.

Having been a witness to the first horrors of the French revolution, for some years, and having also observed the apathy that previously reigned amongst those very persons who have been its victims, we hope, what follows will obtain attention.

France has shewn us the example of a people who have DETHRONED the ANCIENT SOVEREIGNS, and DRIVEN THE ROYAL FAMILY INTO EXILE—Who have DISPOILED the LANDED PROPRIETORS of the COUNTRY—DISPERSED the CLERGY —Committed a bankruptcy with respect

to their creditors—Mismanaged, neglected, or lost their colonies; yet, nevertheless, have risen in the scale of nations, far beyond what they were at any former period.

What an awful lesson to the rulers of countries, and to the higher orders! We do not choose to enter into the conclusions that might follow from this, farther than to say, that unless those who are exalted by the present order of things, keep a firm hold, they run a risque.

They must employ men of abilities—They must have arguments and opinion in their favour—Bayonets will not do their business

The question with the only country that remains, (England) is very short but very important—Whether the ancient and still existing order of things, the form of government, and distribution of property are to be maintained by REASON or by FORCE, or by the influence of both?

The French revolution has changed, its aspect, but it is still equally unfriendly as it was in the first moment to those hereditary distinctions derived from former times. The efficient energy of the moment is still the theme of praise; it is the object of adoration, and the means of being adored.

Where now are the noble and ancient princes and barons of the Roman empire? (the name of the German empire,) where are those high and mighty men, who scorned all alliance with plebeian blood, and valued pedigree above every thing on earth.

Without the aid of fancy, without any disposition to paint in too deep colours, we cannot help seeing those mighty men driven by the sons of yesterday, like chaff before the wind. They are like stubble trodden down by the oxen, and they have neither force to resist, nor firmness to remonstrate. A feeble, a mean, and contemptible, but aukward acquiessence, is the characteristic of their conduct, and the insolence and pride of their new mastes are increased on that account.

The successor of Charles V. that great monarch, whose dominions surrounded the globe, so that on them the sun never set, is now the prisoner of a man reared in a *cottage in Corsica*. The grandees of Spain and the barons of Germany, are alike prostrate in the dust, and their masters are in a state of bondage to Bonaparte. Such is the true and awful picture; yet with these full in view, British noblemen, British proprietors, and British subjects, are agitating questions that tend to bring the same evils into their own country,

Such are the fair, the natural, and the unavoidable reflections that occur in considering the effect of agitating what is termed the Roman catholic question, at this moment.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

WE return for a moment to that subject, merely to say that we hope government will be firm, for if they are not, the Americans will be difficult.

They are speculating on obtaining concessions from Britain, in the hour of weakness, in the moment of difficulty and distress, and if the want of justice could not be pleaded, we might at least plead the want of generosity.

England, the country that established the American States, that protected the people during the weakness of infancy, when now environed by a host of enemies, finds herself cruelly assailed from that very quarter; and if she yields, it will only be a prelude to other demands: for it may be depended on, that whoever concedes what is demanded, beyond right and justice, will be punished, till there shall be nothing more to grant, and nothing more to ask.

The Americans have their plans already

laid, for there are no greater planners in the universe than these same Americans.—We shall give a small sketch of their intentions.

1. To obtain an equality in trading to Europe and India, not excepting British ports in American bottoms.

2. A free trade with the West India colonies.

3. By degrees to obtain some West India islands, and when that is done, excite the negroes of Jamaica to revolt.

4. To get possession of Newfoundland, and exclude the English from the fishery.

Such are the main outlines of American ambition. Thirty-three years ago those States were submissive provinces, governed by this country. Let us not ANTICIPATE too much; but if we take not care, let us ask how will things be in thirty-three years hence?

[*To be continued.*]

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I HAVE been a pretty attentive reader of your paper ever since it began, and though I perhaps am not of the same opinion with you in every thing, I am so in general. That is in any case, as much as I expect. With my wife, my son, my brother, or my best friend, I cannot (at least, I do not expect) always to agree perfectly, how then can I with a stranger?

I am in particular, much pleased with your letters from Old Politicians in the Shades, and if you will insert my criticisms on them, I shall send you them occasionally. I do not promise always to approve, but I do promise always to be liberal, and not to cavil with a view to pervert you meaning.

What induces me at this present time to trouble you, is the bitter irony contained in MARAT's letter to Mr. Cobbett. Surely he aristocrats, as he calls them, or men of property, cannot be so silly as not to feel the truth, and the severity of the observation, made on their readiness to encourage their enemies, and their indifference in protecting or assisting their friends.

Of this, Cobbett is the most striking example that I know.

When he first came to this country, having under the name of PETER PORCUPINE, been a furious enemy to French principles, in America, he was well received here by men of one party, and amongst others Mr. Windham. Under their sanction, and with their aid he established a daily paper, in support of government; but though every effort was made to get it into circulation, it would not do. In short, Sir, amongst the daily papers in London, Cobbett's was the least successful, whilst he supported the present order of things; but he is a man of strong sense and energy, and being only fighting a sham battle under a masque, he threw off his disguise, and stood forth the sworn enemy of places, pensions, and power.

This metamorphosis was nothing strange, but the consequences were highly so, for the same men of property, who found Cobbett so dull when he supported their cause, now find him wonderfully clever. They purchase his paper, they laught at, and admire it, and thus give efficacy to his efforts. When the lamb lickes the hand of the butcher. "Just raised to shed its blood." It shews its ignorance, but it neither sharpens the knife, nor strengthens the nerves of his arm. The readers of Cobbett, of the class I mention, increase their danger, and I do not see how they can ever plead ignorance, like the poor lamb, Mr. Cobbett speaks very plain.

I am not a young man, and I have always been given to observation. Amongst other

things, I have observed that changes, losses, or disasters which at the first sight seem terrible, lose a great deal of the horror attached to them, when they become habitual. The same misfortune, likewise that is terrible, when it threatens only one man, seems lessened when it threatens a great number of others as well as himself, from all which I conclude, that the constant perusal of writings, that seem to prove the necessity of a change, actually prepare the minds of people for that change, and if I am not greatly mistaken, it is a change that most people feel taking place by degrees in their own minds. People reconcile themselves to what they think unavoidable, or likely, and by this means the danger is greatly increased.

From what I have now said, I wish it to be drawn as a conclusion, that there is no sporting with edged tools, and that an enemy never can be encouraged with impunity.

I shall not probably live long enough, to see the changes that are about to take place, but in my mind there is a certainty, that if the conduct of those who profit by the present order of things, continues what it is, they must expect, before any great number of years, to see those changes take place in this country, that have already taken in others. It does not exactly follow, in my humble opinion, that the same changes are to happen precisely in the same manner, but that they will happen.

French influence has extended over Holland and Spain, in two different forms. Over Russia in a way different from both, but still it is to the same purpose, and the whole of Europe from the North to the South, is revolutionized under different forms and by different means, but the end of all is the same. The ancient and established orders, give place to the upstart; the *ci-devant* to the *parvenu*. This is the outline of the whole, and the end of all.—This Cobbett labours to establish, and the imbecile victims, that his revolutionary rage is preparing immolate, stand staring like country clowns at a mountebank, who amuses them with antic tricks, whilst they lose their time, money and their recollection,

A CRITIC, NOT IN THE SUN-SHINE.

THE FRENCH PRINCES.

Continued from page 197.

To every British subject, there can be but one leading question about the French Princes. What is our interest with respect to those unfortunate men, proscribed in their own country, and protected in ours?

Are we to maintain hostilities, for the sake of the remnants of a race of sovereigns, who have always sought the humiliation of England; with a vigour and energy, indeed very inferior, but with a design not less hostile, than that of Bonaparte. Let us be just to our present enemy, if not for his sake, at least for our own, and bating the law in decisive, and severe republican style, which is the fashion of the man; constrasting it with the deceiving, and courter-like phrase of other times, and of the ancient court, we see little difference so far as will and intention go. As to expulsion, as to real plan, we cannot think them equal, certainly; for in latter times the Kings of France, could not well be so ignorant as to expect to depopulate or subdue England.

When Lewis XIV. had the power of subduing other pations, he did not shew himself merciful; we cannot find Bonaparte permitting any of his armies, or any of his generals to commit exercises, like those committed by the generals of that polished monarch, in Holland and in Flanders. Let us look for a few examples.

cause to be expended, sufficient money to furnish every man under him, both officer and private, with an *oil-cloth spencer*; or at least, if not made so low in the back as spencers usually are, sufficient to cover from the neck over the shoulders: and let it have a grove or gutter all round, by turning up the edge of the cloth and fixing it with loops.

It should also be cut somewhat aslant, or terminating in an apex, before which would carry off every drop of wet falling on the shoulders; without any inconvenience to shirts, breeches, or stockings.

[*To be continued.*]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are much obliged to the well-informed gentleman, who has favoured us with the letter on the droits of the Admiralty, and we shall next week pay it full attention, but as there is some reason to think that matters have not been investigated yet completely, we wish to be cautious. We would not willingly injure any party. That the printed reports are quite unsatisfactory is certain; but let it be remembered, that those who called for them, only had their eye upon the disposal of the money. They wanted to raise a cry about his majesty's gifts to the royal family.—That, and not real national good, seems the end of the clamourers, they therefore only asked for the amount of money produced, not for the value of cargoes, their proceeds, &c.

Those might not have been produced, merely because they were not required, though they ought to be given.

It is clear that when legal proceedings take place, the money recovered must be placed to account. It is not so in the case when the matter is compounded.

There is a certainty, that one irregular transaction leads to another and another; and nothing is more irregular in itself, than first seizing property, and then appealing to third persons, (be they who they may) to determine whether the seizure was legal or criminal!!

That the captors have often been terrified is likely, and compromises taken place strangely very probable, but the character, honour, and honesty of numbers is at stake; it is therefore necessary to be very careful in bringing forward the business.

As to the gentlemen of Lloyd's, they deserve to lose money, for the want of attention. What! so many persons interested?—So much money at stake, and they will not employ a fit person to look after, and inform them what passes? We understand they will not even reward those who do inform them; and, we repeat it, if they do not change their conduct, they deserve to lose.

The criticisms on the Letters from Old Politicians has been received, and shall be inserted.

The letter on the Flattery of People, and the Calumny of the Great, also in our next.

Sinbad the sailor kept his word with the natives, and proceeded in his vindication; but the reporter went to the Crown and Anchor to dine, he got drunk, and mislaid his reports, or some of his companions picked his pocket. A little cobler, one of the natives, who was there, has promised to repeat what Sinbad said; but as he can only do it at his stall when at work, and has not yet got fairly settled to his mending trade, we are not able to give it this week.

Mordecai, the Jews' letter is under consideration.

We shall say nothing more of Mr. Cobbett, till we hear what he has to say for himself.

Printed by W. *Glindon, Rupert street, Haymarket and published for the Proprietors,* 24, *Porter Street, Long-Acre,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N°. 12.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON,
48, *Rupert-Street, Haymarket.*

Published for the Proprietors,
24, *Porter-Street, Long Acre*

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8*d.*

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

COMMERCE WITH INDIA.

As the trade to India is now entirely possessed by Britain and America, and is the greatest obstacle to a peace with France, let us take a view of it from the earliest ages, and we shall see that it has always been a cause of contention amongst nations, and it is probable that it always will.

Before there are any authentic records, Syria and Egypt were populous; and the monarchs that ruled in those extensive countries, had established their governments upon a plan, that has more or less been adopted by all countries. There were different ranks of people. The same offices did not fall indifferently upon all. Wealth was unequally divided; and, of course, a foundation was laid for that commerce which consists in supplying the affluent with articles of taste and luxury, which are only produced in some countries; whereas, articles of necessity, are produced in every country that is inhabited.

Commerce appears, at first, to have been entirely confined to the productions of the eastern and middle parts of Asia, which have, from the earliest periods, been sought after with great avidity by the people of other countries.

All that is most grateful to the taste, the eye, or the smell, is found in peculiar em

cellence in India. It is not to be wondered at then, if such objects of the desires of men were an abundant source of riches to those nations who had the means of obtaining them.

Egypt and Syria lay immediately in the road for this commerce. They were rivals, and many contests and vicissitudes were the consequence: for no commerce has ever created so much envy and jealousy. None has ever raised those who carried it on so high, or, on forsaking them, left them so low, as that which has been carried on with India.

Though at a very early period, Egypt had a share in this lucrative commerce, yet the greatest part was carried on through Syria and Arabia, between the Persian Gulph and the Mediterranean Sea; that part now called the Levant, where Tyre and Sidon once stood.

We shall examine briefly the changes of this commerce, the only one almost existing in early times, or at least which gave rise to nearly all that did exist.

As the common necessaries of life are found in greater or less abundance in every country, and as the population is in some degree regulated by their quantity, they made no object of trade, except in cases of famine. The precious metals, spices, jewels, and aromatics, rare in their production, universally desirable, and easily transported, were long the chief objects of commerce, and the changes which this commerce has undergone and produced, amongst those who possessed it, greatly elucidate the subject of this inquiry.

The distance from Babylon to the Persian Gulf, down the Euphrates, to where Bussora now stands, was not great, and across the country to Tyre, there was little interruption; the Assyrian empire extending to the sea coast, and its monarchs being too powerful to have any thing to fear.

There was, however, at a very early period, another channel, by which the Tyrians obtained the productions of the East, namely; by sailing up the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, and across Arabia Petrea, to Rhinocolura.

The Egyptians, at that time, obtained the same sorts of merchandize, by sailing likewise up the Red Sea, and landing at the western extremity; from whence they were distributed through Lower Egypt.

Commerce was carried on in this manner, and was nearly all engrossed by Tyre, when Alexander the Great, bred up under his father, (who had been educated at Athens, and travelled through Greece,) turned his arms against those countries, in which there was the most to be got by conquest, and from whom there was the least danger of defeat.

Before this took place, the pride and insolence of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon had displayed itself on more than one occasion. After having been on friendly terms with the Jews, under David and Solomon, they became their enemies, and excited the king of Babylon to take Jerusalem; by that means destroying a neighbouring and dangerous rival. The wealth of these two cities had afterwards induced the Babylonians to attack them also. Sidon was taken and destroyed; and that part of the city of Tyre fell, which was upon the mainland; but the Tyre, that was the place of real trade, escaped the rage of Assyrian monarchs.

Alexander seems to have determined on destroying Tyre, in order to found Alexandria, which he placed, indeed, in a better situation for the eastern trade. His romantic expedition to India, had in view the getting possession of the countries which produced those gems and aromatics, that were so much sought after in the other parts of the world.

Had Alexander lived, perhaps he would not have found it his interest to depress Syria; but the division of his conquests

amongst his generals, gave to Egypt and Syria two different masters. They were rivals, and then every advantage that nature gave to Alexandria was improved to the highest pitch, under the Ptolemys.

The river Nile, much more navigable than the Euphrates, was also better adapted for this trade, because, in coming from India, it was necessary to ascend the latter, while the other was descended. Besides this, the flat country of the Delta was cut into canals, which greatly facilitated this channel of commerce.

This was the first great revolution in eastern commerce. It was brought on first by the envy of Alexander, and the pride of the inhabitants of Tyre, and gave a very great superiority to Egypt, which was increased by the canals dug in that country, and the discovery of the regular monsoon, (a periodical wind) which, at a certain time of the year, carried navigators straight from the mouth of the Red Sea to the Malabar Coast.

This passage, from the Streights of Babelmandel to the point of the Peninsula of India, saved a very long and dangerous navigation by the coast. It is almost due east, and with the advantage of being much shorter, and having a fair wind, was next to the discovery of the passage of the Cape of Good Hope, the greatest discovery for shortening the route to India. This was discovered during the time that Egypt was a Roman province.

Under these disadvantages, flowing from superior prerogatives of Egypt, the commerce of Syria fell off almost to nothing, till by another of those changes to which this commerce seems peculiarly liable, the Roman Empire, which had swallowed up the whole of the civilized world, was itself divided into two, and one of the capitals fixed at Constantinople.

The channel though Syria obtained them a preference of all the eastern part of the empire; and owing to some change, either in the politics or religion of the Persians, (when, conquered by the Parthians,) they became willing to permit them the navigation of the Euphrates, which had long been shut up.

This continued to be the state of matters, particularly after the fall of the western empire, when barbarians got possession of all that part of Europe, that used to be supplied with East India produce by the way of Alexandria. It continued till the middle of the seventh century of the Christian æra, when the Mahometan religion was established from the westermost part of Africa, to the confines of the Chinese empire; and as the followers of that religion were unfriendly to commerce, and none could be carried on with India, that did not pass through their country, it was nearly annihilated, and was almost wholly confined to the caravans of pilgrims, who, going to visit Jerusalem and Mecca, under the cloak of religious zeal, exchanged the various artcles of traffic, which they had collected in their different countries on their journey.

Such were the vicissitudes, changes, and variations of this commerce in early periods, and during the middle ages; and, when we come to treat of the same within the two last centuries, we shall find it equally liable to alteration.

Of all the spots on the face of the earth that have undergone revolution and ruin, they that are now the most completely sunk below their natural level, are those which were formerly the highest above it.

We have left, uninterrupted, the detail of the commercial greatness of those places, in order not to break the narrative; but as cities cannot be great without connection, it is necessary to notice, that Marseilles in France, and Carthagena, and some other places on the coast of Spain, were those, by which eastern luxuries came

into Europe from Alexandria and Tyre. The Carthagenians, a Tyrian colony, had the produce from Tyre, and from Rhinocolura, and supplied Spain and the western portion of Africa; but when Alexandria arose, Carthage began to fall, Alexandria, situated near to it on the same coast, was a rival, not a friend, as Tyre had been, and the first punic war, in which the pride of that republic had involved it with Rome, following soon after, hastened its decline.

The nations of Greece, which had risen to power and wealth, owed this more to their superiority in mind, in learning, and the fine arts, than to any attention they ever paid to commerce; they had begun, by being the most barbarous of all the people in that part of the globe, and got their first knowledge from the Egyptians, whom they long considered as their superiors in science, as the Romans afterwards did the Grecks: but when the barbarians broke down the western empire, learning, as well as commerce was very soon extinguished.

It was the share of Indian commerce, settled at Constantinople, that tended more than any other circumstance to preserve that empire so long. To that, and to the barbarians having other occupation, rather than to any intrinsic strength of its own, did the eastern empire owe its long preservation.

A new channel, for this varying commerce of the east, was opened, as civilization extended to the north of Europe, and this chiefly on account of the very small supply that was obtained through the Mahometan countries.

Goods were transported by land from Hindostan and China, to Easterhabed, situated on the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea; from whence they were carried in vessels to the north-east corner of the same sea, and from thence by the Wolga and the Dou, two rivers which rise in Russia, and, after nearly meeting together, fall into the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea. By ascending the Wolga a short distance, and descending the Dou, with only a few miles of land carriage, the produce of India arrived at the Black Sea, and Constantinople became the emporium of the Indian trade. This was a great stroke to Venice and Genoa, which rivalled each other in bringing the Asiatic commodities, for the supply of Europe, through the old channels. This jealousy of each other, and of Constantinople, was at its height, when the Crusades carried most of the princes and nobles of Europe to Venice and Constantinople. The Venetians, merely a commercial people, with little territory or power, neither gave nor received umbrage from those warlike chiefs; but it was not so with Constantinople, the seat of a great empire; so that the Crusaders and Venetians united against that power, and the eastern emperors were compelled to divide their city into four parts: the sovereignty of one part fell, to the lot of the Venetians, who, for more than half a century, had by this means a decided superiority over both its rivals, and engrossed nearly the whole commerce of the East.

[*To be continued.*]

HEALTH, COMFORT, AND ŒCONOMY, FOR SOLDIERS.

Continued from page 220.

Although, Sir, I cannot support my assersion from "the evidence of facts," yet I am well satisfied that the utility of them, if tried by any one regiment, or *company* of a regiment, would cause their speedy adoption by the army in general, and by many private citizens; and that they would prove articles of economy as well as comfort, by preserving the clothes from wet.

This article of covering would not occupy much space in or on a knapsack, nor be cumbersome from its weight; and placed under a great coat in winter, such as worn by soldiers even in *dry* cold weather, would much augment the warmth of those men, exposed to act as centinels during night-hours*: as this dense covering to retain the animal heat, would only occupy a small space over the shoulders.

As to the advantages and disadvantages in detail, I have not the affectation to estimate them, I think they deserve a trial.

A MEDICAL PHILANTHROPIST.

Our view being to give every amelioration proposed, a fair chance, and considering a public paper as a public vehicle, (under certain regulations,) we have inserted the above, but for ourselves we give no opinion, for or against the contrivance.

* Of course they would be equally useful to *sailors*, during the time they keep watch on deck, &c. &c.

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER XV.

FROM FREDERICK THE GREAT, IN THE SHADES—TO THE PRESENT KING OF PRUSSIA, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

Of the present humiliating state, of which my former kingdom is now reduced, I consider *myself* as partly the cause, a circumstance that increases greatly my grief, but diminishes my indignation.

When I encouraged those wild and wicked reformers, who, under the appearance of philosophy, aimed at revolutionizing the moral world, I was ignorant of the ultimate end of such a change.

With much less penetration than fell to my share, it was easy to see the errors of mankind in their individual and combined capacity; and weighing them against an imaginary degree of perfection, they could not but appear capable of remedy. The society (at the head of which I placed myself) of *wits*, *poets*, and *philosophers*, that delighted in turning those into ridicule, and it was too late before I discovered my error. This new philosophy had sapped the throne of France, and had, in the person of Joseph the IInd. seated itself on the throne of Germany, and had destroyed the loyalty of my subjects, in my own states, before I was aware of the danger.

Had vanity, and my propensity to stand high at the head of men of letters not blinded me, I should have seen this long before but my usual depth and penetration, deserted me on this occasion, and I became the undesigning instrument of the downfall of a throne, which it had been the business of my life to aggrandize.

Having began, by confessing (and I do it with grief and shame,) my own faults, I must now be permitted to tell you, of those committed by your father and yourself.

To volunteer in the cause of regular governments, when they were assailed by the revolutionists of France, was exactly the proper step for a King of Prussia; but to degenerate first into a mercenary and lukewarm ally, was a great disgrace; of the same stamp was the whole of the conduct of your father, and your own has gone still to a more blameable extreme.

To have remained neutral was a good policy in you, had the contest been of an

ordinary nature; but when the subjugation of Germany was intended, such conduct admits of no paliation, and of no excuse.

But, what farther is to be said of your conduct still? Not contented with abandoning the common cause (and one in which you was so much concerned) and patiently seeing the German empire overturned, by the march of the French to Vienna, and the victory of Austerlitz, you became the instrument of Bonaparte's ambition; his aider and abettor, in order to gratify your own avarice.

When you sank so low, as to seize on Hanover for yourself; did you not see that, by that one single act, you descended from the dignity of a king, you embroiled yourself with England, and became either the bound slave of Bonaparte, or his open enemy? Prussia insulated from Russia and Austria, and at war with England, must either submit to whatever France might order or prepare for resistance.

This consequence was not indeed long of being felt, and in return for your civility, Bonaparte openly negociated with England, for the restoration of that province, which he had made you a few months before purchase at the expence of your honour, and the friendship of an ancient, a faithful, and a powerful ally. In this manner were you rewarded for the conduct you had maintained, whilst all the nations around were falling, one after another, and while the confederation of the Rhine was forming on the ruins of the antique empire of Germany, a political body, which no doubt, had many imperfections, but which nevertheless had its advantages, and which your interest and honour were both deeply concerned in preserving intire.

But still all those faults sink into insignificance, when your conduct, as a general and sovereign in your own country, is taken into account.

To take up arms singly to oppose an enemy that had subdued almost the whole of the Continent of Europe, without any of those precautions of provisioning your fortresses, that would have been indispensable, even in taking the field against an enemy of an ordinary strength, was not only ignorant, careless, and improvident, but a fault, that, as a general, admits of no sort of excuse, no paliation, and one that never can be forgiven.

The sudden and terrible overthrow which followed your bad conduct, is not so strange, and not vexatious, as that conduct itself; and the punishment that has followed, terrible as it is, cannot be said to be too great; though it is to be lamented that it has fallen on your brave country as well as on yourself.

As, however, the past is gone, and your regret, or my reproach, though accompanied with those of nearly all Europe, can be of little utility; your business is to prepare with magnanimity for a future day, when you will yet have an opportunity of rescuing your country from slavery, and your name from that obloquy, with which it is now loaded.

One of the principal causes of the revolution is, the opinion (that was very prevalent all over Europe) that the French revolution would ultimately secure the liberties of mankind. Under this impression, the resistance made was as feeble as it was ineffectual; but now the case will be different. The effects of French fraternity have been now felt in a manner that will never be forgotten; and when another opportunity comes, there will be energy on both sides, so that then the French will not, as hitherto, have uniformly the advantage.

This opportunity will soon occur, the present state of things cannot last; but do not exhaust yourself by keeping up a large army badly paid, but keep up a small army well paid, and well disciplined, and that will serve for a rallying point, when you find

the time fit, and you are assured of the hearty co-operation of other nations.

Wait with patience and attention, and you may yet regain what you have lost, both in dominions, and in reputation; but do not stoop to idolize your conqueror! for though you have committed faults of the most serious nature, you have not yet flattered your conqueror. In this I recognise the remains of the ancient dignity of my family, and from that I am led to hope that there is still a resource in your mind, that may yet some day repair those misfortunes which, in an evil hour, your conduct has occasioned; and be satisfied of one thing, that if those who lead nations do them justice, mankind will regain their equality. Though the French are a numerous and brave people, there is no reason, no cause in the nature of things, that makes it credible that that nation alone should rule over every other.

Many extraordinary things take place for a short space of time, but nothing out of the ordinary course of things can be of long duration.

France may, probably, after those great efforts, be a weak, an exhaused, and a depopulated nation, as it was after the death and conquests of Charlemange; though the present times are so unlike any that are past, that it is not possible to know how things will be; but this is certain, that the nature of man, on the great and general scale, does not change; and that one nation will not long rule over others, in the manner that France does now.

The energy of the jacobins first gave the French a great and decided superiority over others. England alone, without madness or enthusiasm, has, by steadiness, and native bravery, supported its character; and now, that forced by necessity, it has taken fairly to a system of vigorous retaliation, as is seen by the brave attack on Denmark, and the decree respecting captures at sea, you will find that nation a full counterpoise for France; and as all those nations that have been subdued for want of energy, will be preparing to throw off the yoke, the system will speedily change. Of that you may be certain; therefore, be prepared, that you may at once do away the stain, that at present remains on you and your country.

Shades, April 3, 1808. FREDERICK.

LETTER XVI.

FROM SIR ISAAC NEWTON, IN THE SHADES—TO THE MODERN PHILOSOPHERS, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN, after having made a number of discoveries, and accounted for a great many of the phenomena of nature, which, had till my day been considered as inexplicable, I laid it down as a maxim, in every case where experiment was possible, to have recourse to it; I never imagined that those who followed me, would presume to extend the reserches of philosophy, to objects that are *intirely out of its reach*, and thereon ground a species of *infidelity*, that has been most improperly and unfortunately considered as a characteristic of philosophy.

Though I had accounted for some things, that had, till my day, been little understood, and though I discovered many of the laws of nature, before unknown or unexplained, I never had the idea or the presumption, to dispute those things, that I was unable to comprehend or explain: on the contrary, I fixed in my own mind a limit for philosophical inquiry, distinguishing those things into which we may inquire, with some probability of success, from others, intirely out of the reach of human investigation.

In ignorant times, astrology was considered as a science, and the power of predicting future events, was thought to be attainable by study; but an increase of knowledge has exploded such unfounded notions, so that any one who pretends to the gift of fore-telling what is to come, whether with, or without the assistance of the heavenly bodies, is considered either as an imposture on a mad man.

From the desire of mankind to know what futurity would produce, and the power of calculating a number of natural phenomena, from the position of the plants and of the fixed stars, arose the erronious belief in astrology, and it was ignorantly enough imagined, that because an eclipse, or the path of a comet could be calculated, prior to the event, other occurrences might be known before they took place. If this could not be termed complete ignorance, it was at least a great want of discriminating between causes and effects that had a direct and an evident connection; and causes, and effects, that if any connection did exist, it could in no shape or form be traced or conceived.

It is evident, that from the position of the heavenly bodies at any given time, and by means of previous observations, their future position at another given time may be calculated, because there is an ostensible connection, and this is within the province of astronomy; but suppose there is some connection between the events of a man's life, and the position of the plants at the time of his birth, that connection is neither to be seen nor conceived, and therefore to labour, to ascertain the one from the other, is to act like a madman, and to pretend to do it, is the part of an impostor.

Thus then, between astronomy and astrology, there is a decided difference, and in my way of thinking, there is the same between the philosophy that I taught, and a great portion of the philosophy of the present day.

I never conceived that natural and moral philosophy could be combined together; for, whatever, the connection between mind and matter is, and that a connection exists is certain, men have no data to go by, for ascertaining it, they cannot expect to make any sort of progress in the inquiry, and the consequence is, that those pretended philosophers have exerted the powers of their own minds, to very little purpose, they have spoken an unintelligible jargon, and discovered nothing farther than the vanity and uselessness of their labour.

I compare the philosophers who try to extend the bounds of philosophy beyond its natural limits, to those impostures who founded the *absurd study of astrology*, on the *real science of astronomy*.

When I discovered the operation of attraction, I investigated the laws by which it acts, I appealed to experiment, but I never had the vanity to imagine that I ever could, by any inquiry, discover the primary cause of attraction, and therefore I never attempted to make the discovery.

The natural philosopher may investigate effects, and the immediate and proximate, or efficient cause may be, in many cases, easily traced, but the original first cause is not to be discovered by any chain of reasoning or inquiry, within the power of man, and therefore it is useless to attempt the inquiry.

But modern philosophers, far from following this plan, attempt *to account for every thing that they are obliged to believe, and to deny every thing for which they cannot account, and which they are not obliged to believe.*

For instance, they believe that grass is green, and that straw is yellow, that the enamel of the straw is such as art cannot produce, and the texture very different from that of the grass, yet both spring from

the earth, and perhaps almost from the same spot; that the real matter of which they are formed is the same, only changed by passing through a small seed or root. All this they know and believe, because they see it happen so frequently, that it cannot be denied; but they can no more account for it, than they can for the immortality of the soul, or any of those things which skeptics takes so much pleasure in pretending to disbelieve.

If not to be able to account for *what is*, were a reason for incredulity, people would believe scarcely any thing; but the absurdity of this is so great, that philosophers would be termed fools if they were to think in such a manner; they have therefore limited their incredulity to such things as cannot be proved, so as positively to make them appear ridiculous.

If under the article *corruption*, to which life, animation, &c. refers, in a modern dictionary, written by philosophers, it is meant to be inferred, that matter becomes animated of itself, and that motion supposes a mind of some sort; that, therefore, mind is a combination of matter, there is a total want of true argument, at the same time, that it is, to superficial persons, productive of a strange sort of incredible infidelity, for men know no more by what means the living principal is communicated from one animal to another, than its apparent creation from matter totally inanimate.

The cause of all this absurdity is, that men have not faculties of a nature such as enables them to inquire into the subject, with any degree of success; but it is clear that, *as they are compelled to believe many phenomena they can neither understand, nor explain; so, they ought not to disbelieve any thing, merely because they cannot understand or explain it.*

Why the sense of vision should reside in the eye, taste in the palate, and hearing in the ear, is *inconceivable*, but it is equally *undeniable*; therefore men never dispute about that, nor about dreaming in the course of sleep: but as all these things are only believed because they exist, and not because they are understood, and would be denied if there were not positive proof of their being so, on what principle can men maintain that any thing is impossible, merely be cause they do not understand it?

All the questions about the Deity, and about a future state, are of the description that I have mentioned, none of them are to be decided, by our understanding, how they come to pass, and of consequence, none of them then are to be disbelieved, because they surpass our comprehension.

I should be as much to blame as those of whom I speak, were I to enter into a controversy on this subject; I confine myself to one simple and indisputable proposition, that *since we are compelled to acknowledge the existence of many things that we cannot account for, and do not understand: our not being able to account for or understand a thing, is no reason for denying or disbelieving the existence of it.*

If credulity is naturally the attendant of ignorance, that is no reason why incredulity should be considered as a mark of knowledge, though it is probable, that from this mistake arises the fashionableness of incredulity, which I have often remarked, is rather the attendant of vanity than of knowledge.

I am certain that any man of an enlightened mind, who will divest himself of the pride of being wise, will see that the powers of human investigation go but a small way, and that when they are applied to subjects to which they do not extend, they lead to great error, for those persons who have least knowledge and most confidence, are apt greatly to abuse the little information they possess.

NEWTON.

Shades, April 5, 1808.

NEW AND INTERESTING PUBLICATION.

Enemies as we are to that sort of revolutionary innovation that has overturned the Continent of Europe, and abolished the ancient orders of society, we cannot but be pleased to find a publication is about to appear, that will tend to give dignity and support to the British nobility. The following prospectus has been printed, and we have got a copy of the preface.

British Family Antiquity,

Patronised by, and Dedicated to

HIS MAJESTY;

CONSISTING OF

An elegant Set of Chronological Charts,

Engraved on an entirely New Plan,

ILLUSTRATIVE TO THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS,

OF THE

RANK AND HONOURS

OF THE

British Nobility,

ACCOMPANIED WITH

One large Volume of Letter-Press,

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY.

By W. PLAYFAIR, Esq.

Inventor of Lineal Arithmetic; Author of an Inquiry into the Causes of the Decline and Fall of Nations; Editor of the last Edition of Dr. Smith's Inquiry, with Notes and a Supplement.

At a time like the present, when there exists, nearly over all Europe, a very general and strong disposition to degrade whatever owes any part of its importance to Antiquity, or whoever derives honour from Illustrious Ancestors, a publication of the nature now announced must appear with peculiar propriety and advantage. It will plainly prove, from undeniable facts, found in the History of the British Nobility, that there has been, with a very few exceptions, a most intimate connexion between great actions, a good and virtuous conduct, and the honours that have been distributed by the sovereigns of this country.

This work, while it is designed to render the study of that interesting subject more easy and clear, by means of the Charts, is expressly intended to counteract the new doctrines that unfortunately prevail too much.

It is proposed to convert the history of our Illustrious Nobility into a barrier against such unprincipled innovation; and, on this ground, *it will lay claim to the patronage and encouragement of all those who wish to maintain the present happy order of things, and the incomparable government of this country*, which are so intimately connected with the preservation of the different ranks of society, and so dependent on the respect and esteem justly marked for the higher orders.

The British Nobility are, by the nature of their creation and the descent in which their titles run, different from those of all other countries, and that difference is highly in favour of British Nobility.

In the first part of the volume that is to accompany the Charts, will be much curious and interesting matter relative to honours, and the manner in which they have been obtained; as well as the dignity with which they have in general been preserved.

The remainder of the volume will contain details of great and illustrious actions, with some particulars relative to each individual family.

We insert the following Preface, to shew that the work will be very different from

any of those that have yet appeared, which consist merely of dry fact:

PREFACE.

From the earliest ages, genealogy has occupied much of the attention of mankind; and whether we consult sacred, or prophane history, we shall find the extraction of the individual always considered as making an important object in his history.

When a man first enters into life, he has, indeed, no other history than the name of his father, or of the family to which he belongs. This is the only answer which can be given to that perpetual question of, "Who is that?" No sooner do we see a stranger than we wish to know from whom descended. The very important circumstance of what he does? is in general a secondary question.

Although the actions of a man himself are the truest proof of the merit, yet it is impossible for the mind not to connect these with the opinion we have of his extraction; and whoever pays due attention to the natural sentiments of mankind, while he keeps clear of the absurd prejudice which gives honour and respect to extraction alone, will acknowledge, that the actions of men are not the only ground of respectability or estimation in the world. It is true, that a respect for ancestors, seems to be founded in what, (in the present times,) is called prejudice and respect for actions, on what is termed reason.

It is, however, to be considered, that a motive of a man's action not being always known and even the real merit of the act being frequently uncertain, that in a vast variety of cases, it is impossible to form a very decided conclusion. On the other hand, though it is absurd to honour and esteem a man merely because he is descended from great and good men, yet, even in doing so, reason mingles with prejudice; for, as personal merit or blame cannot, in almost any case, be measured so accurately, as not to require all the assistance which circumstances will afford; in order to form a decision on this subject, it becomes necessary to enter a little into all collateral circumstances, of which extraction is one.*

In forming a judgment of great, or very decided actions, the former conduct of the actor will produce but little effect; because men are capable of reformation, or of becoming depraved; yet in judging of ordina-

* Mr. Pope, who is considered as having put the profound ideas of others into admirable versification, seems to be entirely in favour of actions, when he says,

"Honour and shame from no condition rise,
"Act well your part, there all the honour lies:
"Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow,
"The rest is all but leather or prunella."

This indeed is a very decided sort of language; but what are we to say, when in the following essay we find the same poet express himself thus?

"Not always actions shew the man: we find
"Who does a kindness is not therefore kind:" &c.

And when farther on, this poet, who in the foregoing essay, spoke so decidedly of actions, concludes with saying:

"Judge we by nature? habit can efface,
"Interest o'ercome, or policy take place.
"By actions? those uncertainty divides.
"By passion? these dissimulation hides.
"Opinions? they still take a wider range.
"Find, if you can, in what you cannot change.
"Manners with fortunes, humours turn with climes,
"Tenets with books, and principles with times."

A very fine and *conclusive-conclusion* to be sure!!

ry actions, the general character of the actor has much weight. In like manner, the race from which a man springs, is a sort of guide to the judgment with respect to the man himself—until a man has begun to act, or until we know some of his actions or manner of acting, the race he is descended from is the only circumstance that can guide our judgment. This, indeed, is by no means a sure criterion: but we must consider, that as even a man's past conduct is not a perfectly certain pledge for future actions; it becomes unfair totally to reject the one, and in an unlimited manner to adopt the other mode of judging.

Lineal descent seems, from the history both of men and inferior animals, to be an imperfect species of identity: the same qualities are often found to descend from father to son; and, therefore, may with some reason be expected to do so; and as, where the identity is personal and undeniable*, the mind is capable of total change, it seems fair to consider this species of identity as being an inferior degree of the other: provided we can find, that the qualities or propensities of the man do often, as in personal likeness, go by descent.

Without affirming that general opinion is always right, it is a strong presumption in favour of any sentiment or doctrine. In speaking of general opinion, we do not mean *general* in one town or country, or only a temporary opinion, though ever so widely extended; but an opinion of the truth of which all ranks and ages, the ignorant man and the well-informed are equally persuaded*, such an opinion is, for the most part, well founded.

It is, and has been common to all people in all ages, to speak of a brave race of men, an honourable, or a generous race. Thousands of instances may be drawn from history to prove that there is nothing absurd in such expressions †. Even whole nations have deserved and maintained a particular character ‡. It is therefore

* The man who at the age of twenty-five was vigorous and virtuous, may at forty be depraved and debilitated; indeed it often happens so; nay, very great changes take place in a much shorter interval of time, therefore personal identity scarcely exists, except in the memory, for both the mind and matter are changed.

* There is indeed a difference between the degree of credit given by the well-informed man and the ignorant. What the former believes, is generally mixed with some degree of doubt, or attended with some species of diffidence in himself at least; whereas the ignorant man indulges no sort of doubt, but grants a full, general, and unmixed belief to the opinion, unaccompanied by any sort of diffidence in his own judgment.

† It is undoubtedly a mistake to attribute to soil, climate, or government, the disposition of the people. Under the same government we find people of very different characters and conduct. The people of Cheshire are very different from those of Yorkshire. The people of Normandy are remarkable for shrewdness, and those of Champagne for sillyness; so that it is not the government. Again, is it local situation? Compare the ancient Romans with the base populace that now incumber Italy, or the ancient Greeks, with the slaves who now disgrace the former habitation of arts and elegance.

‡ It does not seem to be the same with the qualities of the head, for we do not hear of a succession of painters, poets, or mathematicians, This has given some reason to think that the qualities of the heart go by the male line, and those of the head by the female, which latter being subject

reasonable to suppose, until we find it otherwise, that the individual partakes of the qualities of the line from which he is sprung †.

To say, that some degree of prejudice is not mixed with this prepossession in favour of a person who is well descended, would be extravagant: but, it is quite sufficient, if shewn that there is some foundation for it in nature, and in reason.

In thus maintaining, that respect and honour are due to ancestry, we do not by any means wish to insinuate that such claims are equal to those of personal merit, and indeed it is precisely *because we do not think so*, that we have set on foot the present inquiry into the origin of honours and of wealth, thereby connecting genealogy with biography; for we do consider that there is a distinction between that and honour, and rank, and that a splendid title may, in some cases, be rather a disgrace than otherwise: but at all events, we maintain that genealogy and biography ought to be connected together, in order to separate the solid from the shining, the intrinsic from the apparent.

In the course of the following inquiry, we shall find, that though honours have in general been acquired by estimable actions, there are yet some glaring exceptions. We shall also find that, though once obtained, honours have often been well supported, yet they have occasionally been very much disgraced and degraded, by the actions of those who bore them, and this will naturally lead more firmly to the conclusion, that nominal rank and real honour may be, and frequently are, separated.

As a rich man becomes almost equally important to society as though, besides his riches, he were in possession of a title, and as the degree of respect paid to him is not very much inferior, we shall inquire into the origin of wealth, and the nature of that conduct by which it is naturally acquired, as well as into that cast of character, and course of conduct, which do most naturally, and have, after all, most commonly led to wealth and honours.

At the same time that the historical inquirer is under an indispensable obligation to search diligently for, and strictly adhere to the truth, it is yet permitted to him, nay, it is proper, wherever the motives for any action appear to be uncertain, to incline to the detail, or the explanation which is most favourable to the family of which he treats: and this, on the fair ground that vanity is a more powerful incentive to virtue than shame; the former is attended with an agreeable feeling, but the latter, in itself, a painful sensation. Desirous to gratify, as well as serve mankind, we will, without any sacrifice of truth, take, what is familiarly called, the good-natured side of the question.

It would be a curious inquiry to trace the importance, in which genealogy has been held in all ages, and in all nations; as

---

to perpetual interruption, there is nothing hereditary in abilities. Where it has sometimes happened, that the same male and female line have intermarried for a long series of generations, the race has generally been degraded in intellects. Of this there are several examples in some parts of this country, which, however, it would be invidious to point out.

† Perhaps the fair and honourable pride of emulating the virtues of ancestors, is one of the greatest recommendations of a man who is well descended. This acts strongly on youth, and therefore tends to make a man begin the world well, which is a great point, and on this account it is to be wished, that the old prejudices (if such they are) in favour of men of family should not be done away, to make room for modern philosophy.

it would tend to ascertain, how much more men are governed in their actions by opinion than by realities. The province of opinion seems to be to guide men, whenever they are not under the immediate influence of necessity: but opinion yields its empire, the moment that circumstances are such as to create what appears to the mind to be necessity *.

In equality of rank owes its first rise to seniority, of this we have many beautiful descriptions in the Old Testament. The father of the family was the king, and his eldest son succeeded to his power, unless where the family separated, or where superior ingenuity or strength gave that power to another. It is, therefore, a fundamental error to imagine that equality is natural. Nothing in the world is so unnatural, and nothing more impracticable, than either to establish or prove equality; though it be clear that a boundary must be set to power, and that this boundary ought to be regulated by justice, and by circumstances †.

The eastern nations, which have escaped many of those convulsions and changes, which war and conquest have brought on Europe and Africa, retain still much of that primæval distinction of rank, which seems to have owed its origin to the function which the father of the family assigned to his different children; for that distinction seems to have been occasioned by opinion, or unequal degrees of affection, not by force; and to have had very little connection either with state policy, or personal interest or advantage. Superstition came in aid of what arose from paternal ‡ injustice, and, accordingly we find that in the East one set of men are exalted above, and the other depressed below, humanity.

In the Western world, where revolutions, and the fiercer passions have ruled, men have often been guided by justice, and when they were not so, by interest. Hence it is, that, though the distinction of master and slave existed for a long period, yet it was a distinction founded upon a sort of social contract, though indeed a very unfair one. There was a species of reciprocal advantage, even between the master and the slave: but there is none between the different Castes in India; besides this, to be a slave was humiliating, but not accounted disgraceful, as distinction of ranks is then natural to man, it is ever to be considered as unavoidble; but hereditary title is by no means very ancient, and though it may be politi-

* We say, what appears to be necessity: because it is very seldom that there is no alternative left: and so long as their is, the necessity is not absolute.

† Nimrod seems to have been the first man who overturned the Patriarchial government, and established that of conquest; which he attained by personal merit, uniting in himself all those qualities of body and mind which fit a man to lead, govern, and instruct others, and what is, at first sight, surprising is, that superiority established by conquest, is of a milder species than that established by family preferences; but this seems to arise from the same cause, that civil wars are more cruel than those between two different nations.

‡ The imperfections of humanity counteract and moderate each other in a wonderful degree. Avarice counteracts cruelty in the case of slaves. As to paternal authority, we have a strange instance of what that is even in the patriarch Abraham, who sent off his pretty concubine, and her young son, into the desert, with a bottle of water, in order to please his old wife Sarah; can we wonder at the degradation of some of the Eastern *casts*, after such an invidious distinction amongst children, made by so exemplary a man as Abraham?

cally wise, it is by no means necessary, but may be considered as being artificial.

In the splendid days of Greece and Rome, many families were noble: but titles were personal, and attached only to offices. It is to the feudal system that we owe hereditary title.*

Things always exist before their names. Thus it is that rank and honour existed long before titles, which are only a species of alphabet, or hieroglyphical signs, by which rank is ascertained and represented. The lineal descendants of Scipio Africanus would have enjoyed the first titles in Rome if there had been any in that great city; as it was, they enjoyed all that rank which opinion gives, and which a title only indicates.

There cannot be a doubt, that the invention of titles, is an improvement in the social system; particularly when accompanied with the restrictions and regulations generally attended to in England, where the eldest of the family alone has been considered as noble, and enjoys the privileges attached to nobilty, because it prevents that increase of nobility which takes place, where it was extended to the whole family: the evil consequences of which, to society, are very considerable.

As men live by industry, the great number ought not to be fettered with any imaginary rank that tends to interrupt those pursuits which are necessary to their existence and maintaining their families; and, again, as honours and titles are intended as rewards from the public to individuals, they should not become too common, or be possessed by poor or needy men: for though poverty is not in itself any reproach, and is, in some cases, very honourable, yet it does not, in any case, accord well with rank and title.

In France there were about seventeen thousand noble families, because nobility was attached to all the males of the line; but, as wealth is not divisible in the same manner, many of the nobles were extremely poor, and not capable of maintaing their rank; so that, in many cases, it became ridiculous, and still more, very inconvenient. If it had not been, that the younger sons were many of them provided for in the church, which prevented them from marriage, it is impossible to say to what a ruinous extent nobility might have been communicated in that country.

In England, the direct line in which the title is to go, is always pointed out in the patent by which the title is granted, which prevents the increase of noble families, and extinguishes the nobility in a great number of cases, as the line pointed out ceases to exist.

[*To be continued.*]

* Though the Nobility of Rome had three names, this was not an hereditary title, but a customary distinction.

IMPORTANT LETTER ON BRITISH COMMERCE.

TO BRITISH MERCANTILE MEN.

Gentlemen,

IT will, at some future day, be conceived as one of the most unaccountable phenomena of the active world, that the London Merchants, possessed of great property, great intellect, and a great spirit of enterprize, were so passively quiet when the commerce of the world was quitting the banks of the Thames, as to make no general effort for their own preservation.

Do you think, that meeting every day on the Change, to stare at each other, to ask what Bonaparte has done last, or to conjecture what he will do next, is the way to prevent your ruin, which is his object?

Are you insensible of the INSIGNIFICANT part you act in this case? Are you insensible of the BLAMEABLE, the DANGEROUS, the RUINOUS part that you act? (or to ask

another sort of a question) are you ignorant of what, and how to act?

For our part, we are inclined to think, that you have never seriously considered your situation, or the means by which it can be rendered better, or prevented from becoming worse.—But, to be aware of that, look at times that are past.

When the great Spanish Armada hovered over our coast, the London Merchants contributed greatly to strengthen the arm of the Sovereign. They did not crowd upon the Change to gape and stare, like cattle in a field during a storm of thunder. We beg your pardon for the comparison; but, if it is not just, you will excuse our ignorance; they acted, and they were firm; yet their means were infinitely inferior to yours, and their information was less; but they had been bred in a different school, and they acted differently.

Much has been said lately about Joint Stock Companies. Much has been said about what is termed free trade, but those useful institutions, termed Regulated Companies, are now forgotten. The name is nearly unknown, and, by the most of you, probably not understood.—It is nevertheless true, that the great modern commerce of the world owes its existence, at least its extent, to the regulated companies that existed from the 12th to the 16th century.

Do not be in a hurry, Gentlemen, and fly away at the obnoxious word COMPANY, we know how *unpopular*, how *unfashionable* it is with modern ECONOMISTS, and those who pretend, or affect to understand POLITICAL ECONOMY; but have a little patience—As King William said to the Duc de Schomberg, when he crossed the Boyne, looking at Ireland—"We must allow, this country is worth fighting for!" So must we allow that the commerce of England is worth supporting, at the expence of a struggle, with all due deference to Messrs. *Roscoe*, *Spence*, *Cobbett*, and the squad of scribblers, who think they are writing with elegance or energy on the subject, when they display nothing more than some talent for argument, some plausibility, added to a total ignorance of the history of commerce, and the modes by which nations acquire wealth, together with a very uncommon share of confidence.

Flanders, the richest agricultural country in Europe, is but poor and wretched, compared to what it was, when it cultivated commerce; it was then very powerful, and the wives of the citizens of Bruges, vied in splendour with a queen of France!

"I thought,", said the queen of France, (who happened to pass through that once opulent city) "I had been a great queen; but at Bruges I found fifty queens, as finely appareled as myself!" We have seen those queen: Yes! and the queens of the country since commerce has fled, and agriculture flourished, but they did not look better dressed than the market women of Covent-Garden. This fact speaks stronger than many arguments.

When commerce began to extend, the merchants of Europe speculated upon their private account, as they do now, but they formed a great regulated company, not confined to one town or one country, but every city of Europe of any note or commercial importance, paid its share to defray such general expences as individuals could not be expected, or could not be able to pay.

We shall, in another number, give a list of those towns, and an account of their contributions; but at present it is sufficient to say, that they included all the great cities of Europe, and amongst others, London.

This great regulated company, for it was nothing more in its nature and principle, was what was termed the Hanseatic League, and it raised the merchants, in a collective body, to a par with the greatest monarchs of the age. Regulated companies, on a small scale, and for particular purposes,

existed in different countries, and the Turkey Company, the Russia Company, &c. are remains to this day of those establishments.

When those associations existed, commercial men were actuated by a *general interest* as well as a *particular interest*. Now they act merely as individuals, despising every thing that is not exclusively their own. This difference of spirit is the cause of the falling off from the days of Queen of Elizabeth to the present day.

You have now no general spirit, though you might see you have a general interest; but, no!—Surrounded with pleasures at your country villas, when you come to town, it is more to gratify curiosity and inhale the news, than to act. You go to Change, as your ladies go to their milliners and dress makers. You then have something to say when you sit down to dinner, otherwise you would have nothing.

You must first begin by combating this selfish spirit and consider your interest; in the general cause. You should, at your JOINT EXPENCE, obtain information and have intelligent agents abroad. You should find out what is to be done, and what, with propriety, may be attempted.

Sweden is yet an inlet to commerce on the Continent of Europe. Why have you not some intelligent agents there, and get information of what can be done?

Canada is yet an inlet to North America, and by its means, trade may be carried on with the interior of the United States, particularly with the western country, to which the nearest and best passage will be by the lake Erie, and the rivers that run south, in particular the Ohio and Mississippi.

Why have not you intelligent agents there, and why have you none in the Brazils, and at Sicily? None at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and none in the West India Islands?

British merchants would then know what British merchants could do; and the individual might speculate on the general knowledge he had obtained. This would be doing something! and if you did fail, it would not be without an effort. If the danger was not diminished, at least the disgrace would be less; and if you failed, you would merit pity, which is less irksome than contempt.

It is not one of the least remarkable signs of the present times, that the agriculture interest begins to associate, to hold an active correspondence, and act upon that liberal plan of general interest, and general improvement, and benefit, by which the mercantile people were governed, two or three centuries ago; and the mercantile people are sunk into that selfish mode of pursuing individual interest, that the farmers then, in the days of of ignorance, pursued.

But, Gentlemen, you have not long time to consider. You cannot act too quickly, and display too great activity. The man that aims at your destruction—at the destruction of British commerce, scarcely ever sleeps: he never abandons a scheme till it fails entirely, or till it is fully accomplished; and HE has agents in every quarter; you have none! in this you are far his inferior, as in prudence, in foresight, and in active energy.

If, however, you will act, you may rise above every thing, if actuated by a general spirit. Let government see that you act, and it will second your actions. The West India interests are protected, so are the East India interests; but the general mercantile interest, is like an orphan without father, mother, or guardian.

You may still export nearly as much as ever, and you will require to import something less; so that without flying into the extremes of despair, because our exports are lessened, or into ideas that England can do without commerce, be persuaded and assured, that if you attend to your general interests, they will never be ruined by your enemies.

The Hanseatic League we have mentioned, and we must mention—So long as the mem-

bers of that body continued true to each other: the cities that had began that excellent combination flourished, and the defection of the members from the league preceded their fall. Less than three centuries ago, Antwerp was, what it had long been, the greatest centre of commerce in Europe. Its exchange had the activity that yours has now, but for the last 150 years, not one of the decayed castles, or the ruined monastries of former times, has been more deserted. In 1794, we saw that famous emporium of former days, and the only mercantile speculation carried on in it, was, by an old woman, who sold cheap prints. To add to this degradation of commerce, and of the fine arts, it was opposite the stairs that led to the famous school for Flemish painters.—Had the ruins of Carthage, Tyre, Memphis, Crete, and Palmyra, all been collected in one group, they could not have given a more impressive lesson on the mutability of human greatness!!!

Gentlemen, we have taken the liberty of making this serious appeal, supposing that you have not thought of the steps to be taken, for the general protection of trade; for if you had, we cannot think so meanly of your patriotism, of your good sense, and of your spirit and energy, as to believe that you would remain inactive.

Less money then would purchase lace for the hats of your footmen, collected from individuals and applied to general purposes, would do the business, and in order to facilitate the matter, we shall trouble you weekly with our ideas, of what might with advantage, be done. What is good you can use, what is useless you can reject; and we know not how it is possible to make a more advantageous or disinterrested offer.

We have, in particular, some things to point out, respecting the East India Company. You leave to a few pamphleteers, the canvassing of the most important questions; and he who fixes on the most popular title, or can lay out most money in advertising his work, gets the most opinions over to his side. Thus chance, or a few pounds, determines questions of great importance; whilst you, who are interested, have millions lying idle at your bankers; and with the money you expend on a single dinner, or the chalking of a floor, or the ornamenting a hammer cloth, would do the business. Robespierre, with difficulty borrowed money, to pay for a place in the diligence to go to Paris, to dethrone his master, to lead him to the scaffold, and to rob and murder nearly all the nobility and clergy of France!! The man who could not command ten pounds, in 1789, in 1794, had property to the value of two thousand millions at his command!! The possessors of that two thousand millions were like you, they sought their individual interest, and considered it as folly to dedicate time or money to general purposes.

If this is not a legible lesson, it is not necessary to proceed—we labour in vain—if it is, we have said enough.

" Duller wert thou
" Than the rank weed that floats itself at ease,
" On Lethe's wharf—thou needst must move on this."

We shall, (as we have said,) return next week to this subject.

To the EDITOR of ANTICIPATION.

Sir,

As your publication alludes to grievances of such a nature as can be proved to exist, and for which a remedy, of a safe and practicable nature, can be found, I wish you would insert the following letter, on a subject that equally interests justice and humanity. Your obedient Servant.

Humanitas.

To the Right Honourable

THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

My Lord,

You are, by office, the guardian of those who, from mental derangement or from want of maturity, are incapable of taking care of themselves, or of their property. You are a man of a good disposition and principles, by nature, and by habit, and education, attentive to the duties of morality and religion.

I am convinced, my Lord, that you will never permit any abuses to prevail under an authority which is confided to your Lordship, without controul, if you are made acquainted with its existence.

In the case of lunatics, where there is property or family quarrels, much injustice, it is well known, sometimes prevails; as the proofs of that malady are often equivocal; and as the malady itself is of such a nature, as to be excited, and proofs of its existence given before your Lordship, where the afflicted person has only undergone a temporary derangement, brought on by irritation; for, my Lord, in some constitutions, derangement, of a temporary nature, is as easily excited, by irritating treatment, as intoxication is by strong drink.

The most steady and sober man in England may, by intoxication, be made to act like a madman, for a time; but it would be extremely hard to treat such a man as a lunatic. This, however, is a case that comes home to every man almost, for there are but few who have not felt, and none who have not seen the effects of intoxication.

The case of temporary derangement, excited by irritation, is however, though less common, not less hard; for it is not the act of the person himself, but the act of others: and when done with design, appears to me to be one of the most terrible of all speculations that can be founded on the weakness and infirmity of man.

I am led to this, my Lord, by what happened the other day. A gentleman in the unhappy situation, of which I speak, and the circumstances are altogether so suspicious, that I cannot help thinking, very strict inquiry should be made into the business. Your Lordship and the public, well know of the state of mind, in which Mr. Ludlam, a man of genteel manners, of genious, and of business abilities, was driven about eighteen months ago. I only alude to that, as a circumstance that took place, for it is clear, that there was then no intention of iritating him to act as he did.

When left cooly to himself, under the care of proper persons, he has acted properly ever since, he then recovered; but just now, he is about to get in possession of his property, and be restored to the rights of a sane individual.

It has, however, so happened, that experiments have been made on that gentleman's feelings, within this week, that will enable his opponents to appear before your lordship, with affidavits of his still deranged state of mind; for the irritation employed, was such as might have made any man mad; and a croud of persons, either curious or ill-intentioned, hunting a man down in the streets, like a wild beast, must make that man act with desperation.

If, my lord, you find these things to be facts, and you certainly will; whatever your lordships judgement may be, with respect to the unfortunate consequences, still, those who have been active in producing them, ought not to be allowed to profit by the iniquity.

I have but further to observe, that the London mob never degrades itself so much as in cases of a deranged person, who has got at large, for if the unfortunate being happens to have the alarm of madness given, then he is treated nearly as a dog would be. This was the case the other day; but I think, an assault on a person deranged, ought to be punished with more severity than

person.—If the lunatic is outrageous, then he commits the assault, and those who resist, bind, or hold him, cannot be considered as guilty; but however deranged a person may be, if he does not strike or attack others, those who strike or attack him, are doubly culpable, and ought to be punished with double severity.

I hope your Lordship will humanely enquire into the circumstances. For this taking place, just at the time your decree was about to be pronounced, "looks," as poor Beverly said, "like management."—The fact being, that till the irritation began, the unfortunate gentleman was as sound in mind as I am.

Requesting your Lordship's justice and humanity will excuse this address,

I am, your Lordship's,
Obedient humble Servant,

Haymarket, May 26, 1808. HUMANITUS.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Letter about Catholic Emancipation, (as it is called,) is received; but to reason with the party who bring forward that question, is of no use. They know perfectly well what they are doing; they know they are exciting discontent; and as they persist, it is clear they mean to excite discontent: why then reason with them? but, perhaps, it may have some effect to tell them that Bonaparte is actually *making his arrangements for the invasion of Ireland*, and that this present *week, some of his emissaries passed through London, for that devoted country.*

Let the party think of the massacre of Madrid—let them think of the state of the royal family, the grandees, the clergy, and the people of Spain, and then let them reflect on what they are now doing. This may have more weight than argument, which can only produce an effect, where the parties are mistaken, in the means they employ; but as that is not the case with opposition, argument is useless.

The letter about the state of Russia, and the design of Bonaparte, to divide it into two, making Odessa the eastern capital, and Petersburg the western, is very important; but it came too late for this week. We have known for some time, that Russia is intirely under the coercive power of France, and that there are not troops in it, sufficient to resist the arms that Bonaparte could pour in from Poland, in the course of a few weeks.

The reflections on the state of Spain, and the cruel, and insidious conduct of Bonaparte, are excellent, we shall give them next week; and though we did not ANTICIPATE such an extreme of wickedness; our readers will remember, that it is two months since, we predicted the subjugation of Spain. The Continent of Europe, is now completely at the feet of Bonaparte, but the more terrible the coertion is, the less time it will last.

The case of the King of Spain, much resembles that of Montizuma, the Mexican chief. The cruel invaders kept possession of his person, the better to subdue his people. How inscrutible are the ways of providence. The cries of the injured Americans, have at last risen to the Almighty, and the oppressors are at last laid low.

The Correspondent who favoured us with the information about the Droits of Admiralty, is requested to call at the office, and give some explanations. We can never insert any thing that we do not perfectly understand, however plausible it may be.

The Cobler, who was to have reported the continuation of the speech of Sinbad the sailor, got drunk at an anniversary dinner at the Crown and Anchor, a few days ago; so that another week's indulgence must be requested.

Printed by W. Glindon, *Rupert-street, Haymarket and published for the Proprietors, 24, Potter Street, Lang-Acre,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N°. 13.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors, 24, Porter-Street, Long Acre

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

COMMERCE WITH INDIA.

Continued from page 224.

THE Genoese and Greek emperors conceived it their interest to unite against Venice, when they found that it had monopolized the whole of that lucrative commerce; when, the Genoese, by supporting their ally with money, expelled the Venetians from Constantinople. The imperial family was reinstated, and the Genoese had the suburbs of Pera ceded to them as a reward for their assistance. This quarter of the city the Genoese forfeited, and the Venetians were compelled to return to their old channels of commerce by Egypt and Syria.

The depot of Indian commerce being in the Crimea, (which is near the mouth of the Wolga,) is a strong reason for believing that the trade was carried on through the Caspian Sea; but it has been asserted, that the chief route was directly by land from the Tigris to the Black Sea. This seems a very good way; but in that case, why cross the Black Sea to go to the Crimea? Any one who looks at the map, will be able to consider that as being very unlikely; Doctor Robertson, however, has taken no notice of this difficulty. Two things, however, are certain, that the depot was in the Crimea, and that merchants never go out of

their road without having some reason for doing so. The reader must then determine for himself.

During those contests, Florence arose, and became a rival both to Venice and Genoa; and some degree of civilization, or, at least, a taste for the luxuries and produce of the East, was brought into the north of Europe, by those who returned from the Crusades. The consumption of Asiatic produce in the North, occasioned depots to be established, and Bruges and Antwerp became to the North, what Venice and Genoa were to the South of Europe. The Hans Towns rose to wealth and opulence just about that period. But the effects of wealth acquired by commerce in the North, were found to be different from what they had been in southern climates. Italy was going to decay, while three of its cities were increasing in splendour; but, in the North, the riches acquired by the cities set industry at work; manufactures were improved, and affluence, and the comforts of life became more generally diffused, than they had ever before been, or than they are in the southern countries even at the present day.

While Constantinople was thus rivalling the cities of Italy, a new revolution took place there, which overturned the Greek empire, and established that of the Ottomans.

When Mahomet the second mounted the throne, the Genoese were expelled from Pera.

Before the Genoese were expelled, their insolence and avarice had time to display themselves in their full extent; about the year thirteen hundred and forty, says an eye witness, (Nicephoras Gregoras,) they dreamed that they had acquired the dominion of the sea, and claimed an exclusive right to the trade of the Euxine, prohibiting the Greeks from sailing to the Chersonesus, or any part beyond the mouth of the Danube, without a licence from them. The Venetians were not excepted, and the arrogance of the Genoese went so far, as to form a scheme for imposing a toll on every vessel passing through the Bosphorus.

Then Venice regained the preponderance in eastern commerce, which she maintained, till the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, which opened a new channel, more certain, much less expensive, and not so liable to interruption from the revolutions that nations are liable to. It is deserving of observation, that whatever alterations took place in the channel, through which the India trade was carried on, whatever were the vicissitudes or the difficulties, the trade itself never was suspended; so great was the propensity of those who were affluent in the West, to enjoy the productions of the East.

The prices of Asiatic produce were exorbitant. Silk was sold for its weight in gold; and a Roman emperor refused his empress the luxury, or rather the splendour of a silk gown.

The vicissitudes of the eastern commerce, were thus very great in former times. The wealth and arrogance which the possession of it produced, and the envy it excited, may, in general, be ascribed as the cause: indeed it is not certain whether the envy of the Genoese, at the success of the Venetians, did not make them, in an underhand manner, favour those attempts to find out a new channel, which might destroy the prosperity of a haughty and successful rival.

Amongst the passions that get hold of rivals in commerce, that of envy is so great, when avarice is defeated, that, to humble a successful rival, they will meet ruin themselves, without fear, and even with satisfaction.

Whether it was so or not, it is certain that the discovery of the the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, was not accidental; but that the Portuguese were induced to

listen to the proposals of trading to India by the same route, under the certainty of rivalling the greatest commercial city of the world, if she should succeed.

Though no new channel can now be expected, and the present one is every day becoming more easy and frequented, yet the capricious shiftings of the India trade were not ended by this new discovery.

Instead of the contest being, as formerly, between cities situated on the borders of the Mediterranean Sea, those maritime powers who navigated the main ocean became the contending parties.

There are only two ways by which wealth is accumulated and brought into a few hands: the one by compulsion and levying taxes, the other by producing or procuring objects of desire; for a small quantity of which, people give up a great portion of their labour.

Sovereigns have amassed wealth and possessed revenue by the first means, and the use they have put it to has been magnificence in building, or in great and useful works, or for war, or for pleasure.

The wealth obtained by the other means, of which the trade to the East seems to have been the chief, produced a different effect. In Italy it occasioned the invention of bills of exchange, and gave encouragement to the fine arts, and to some manufactures. In the north of Europe it infused a general spirit for trade and manufactures; for the luxuries of the East only served to teach the people of the North the necessity of acquiring comfort, by manufacturing the produce of their own country.

To improve the arts of weaving, to make woollen and linen cloths of a finer texture, was very natural, after having seen the silks and muslins that came from India: particularly to people living in a cold climate, where a more substantial covering was wanted, and where the materials were in abundance.

It was, accordingly, in Flanders, and the adjacent country, that the modern spirit of manufactures rose up, nourished by the wealth which the ancient commerce of India had produced.

In the early ages, when the Tyrians had this trade, they amassed great wealth, though they had not any large countries to supply; for, probably, neither Egypt nor the eastern part of Syria would receive the produce by so circuitous a road. But, during the first ages, sacrifices to the gods, and the funeral ceremonies consumed vast quantities of aromatics of every sort, as well as the enjoyments of the living. The two former causes of request for aromatics have long been at an end, owing to the changes in religion. They are now neither burned at the altar nor at the grave; and custom and taste, which are to a certain degree variable and arbitrary, have lessened the consumption of some, and others have been supplied by the progress that we have ourselves made in manufactures.

Wrought silks, muslins, and porcelains. Cotton-stuffs are now no longer bought as formerly, so that, except in porcelain, the raw material is the only object of commerce. The silk-worm was introduced into Italy during the time that the intercourse with the East was very difficult, and therefore had not the increase of wealth, and a taste for new articles extended the demand, and brought a new one, the trade would at last have been nearly done away.

While this diminution of consumption took place, the western world was advancing in civilization, and the progress of wealth became vastly more extended; so that if the consumers of eastern luxuries were less profuse in the use of them, they were, at the same time, greatly increased in number.

The taste for tea, alone, which was introduced not much above a century ago, has nearly overbalanced all the others, and it is still augmenting in Europe; besides the discovery of a new quarter of the world

rapidly increasing in population, into which the custom of drinking tea, as in Britain, has been introduced also.

The reasonable price at which an article can be afforded, always augments the consumption: and though we have no criterion to go by in judging of the prices in former times, yet it is certain they must have been very great. At the time when silk was sold for its weight in gold, that metal was (compared with common labour) of six times the value it is now; silk was, then, at least three hundred times as dear as it is now; indeed, even the extravagant price scarcely accounts for the parsimony of the Roman emperor, who refused his wife a robe of that rich material.

The carriage is £24 a ton backwards and forwards, or out and home, which is only equal to what is paid in England by land for 500 miles. Indeed, none but articles of a very great value and high price could pay for the carriage, by any of the channels hitherto discovered, but that of the Cape.

[*To be continued.*]

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER XVII.

FROM DOCTOR ADAM SMITH, IN THE SHADES—TO WRITERS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

GENTLEMEN,

IN my inquiry, into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations, I never expected to avoid error; in all my conclusions, I expected to approach the truth in many important cases: but I should have been very ignorant of the nature of the subject, if I had expected to come to conclusions with that accuracy, that is only attainable in geometry and mathematics.

When Eucled demonstrated, nearly three thousand years ago, that the three angles of a triangle, were equal to two right angles, he was occupied in demonstrating that which he knew nothing ever could overturn, he therefore had nothing to do with Hypothesis; but when I treated of productive, and unproductive labour; of monopoly, exclusive privileges, and other parts of my subject, I was, in every instance speaking of what could only be considered as the case generally, not under all circumstances, or at all times. I was treating a subject, in which I was liable to mistake, even as to the general conclusion; and as I founded my reasoning on experience, of course the subject remained open for future investigation, when farther experience had thrown more light upon it.

I think, in no part of my work, did I write in that positive and dogmatical style, that could have led any person to conceive that I considered my conclusion as absolutely certain, or so clear, that a further inquiry into the subject would be totally unnecessary; much less did I write in that way, that could make it be considered as an act of presumption to differ from me, or to renew the inquiry.

Since I wrote, many circumstances have occurred, tending to throw great light on questions of political economy; and not a few things have happened to change the conclusions. That is to say, that the conclusions, which would have been the best in my time, are not so now, in every cas circumstances are so much changed.

It is not to be supposed, that in a short letter, I am to enter into a re-examination

of my book; but some things I have to say, that it is for the wellfare of mankind to hear, and that it is my duty to speak.

Subjects of political economy, can never be laid entirely to rest; they will always admit of discussion, as times and circumstances change; for though some of the principles adopted are immutable, the whole of what results from those principles, as applicable to the real affairs of mankind, is by no means fixt and immutable; my theories therefore ought to be canvassed fairly and freely.

As to my leading points, about entire freedom of trade, the division of labour, and the impossibility of monopoly, where there is competition, I do think I may have fallen into some error, as things are now proved to be; but in my time matters were very different.

I had not seen the experiment made, of complete freedom of trade in France; but it has been made since, and every day shews, that it will not do to the full extent. I lived exactly, at the end of that period, when the evils of too many regulations were discovered; and as I founded my reasonings on experience, I necessarily must have been inimical to a system, from which so many evils had arisen. I had no examples to produce, of evils arising from trade being left too free, but many from its being too much shackled. The conclusions I formed were therefore quite natural, under the circumstances that had taken place, previous to the time that I wrote; but since then it is different, and there are examples of evils arsing from too much freedom; so that, though I am still of the opinion that there is more danger from too much regulation, then from too little; yet, I do not see the matter quite in the same light, that I did then, and were I to write now, I should treat the subject in some degree differently. This point of the entire freedom of trade, was that on which I agreed the most completely with the French economists; and though I did not hold their opinion sacred, yet when they happened to coincide with my own, I spoke with greater confidence, then when they were in opposition to each other.

The freedom of trade, from all sort of legislative interference or restriction, was a major principle in my inquiry, from which the impossibility of monopoly arose, and the consequent absurdity of all laws relative to regrating, forstalling, &c.

Not being now so decided about the major proposition, the minor ones that are connected with it, must share the same degree of uncertainty; and if I had lived till now, my own country might have instructed me as much as to monopoly, as France has with regard to perfect freedom of commerce.

I must, however, declare that I have not been quite fairly understood with regard to monopoly; for I not only made it one condition of its being free, but I supposed abundance of quantity of the article; but it has since happened, that there has not been abundance of several of the greatest necessaries of life, and in particular corn, for making bread: so that my theory, as it has been understood, did not apply monopoly, may have been practised, and if faith is to be put in evidence given in the courts of justice, it has been practised.

I cannot refuse giving credit to men upon their oath, as I have stated a vast number of facts in my book, on much more slender authority. When I gave an exact statement of the gold and silver used in Birmingham, in gilding and plating, in a year, I am now sensible I spoke of a quantity, that the persons most conversant with the trade of that town, would say they could not even guess at; nay, I am certain that I must have had my information from an ignorant man, for a well-informed one would not have attempted to give an opinion on the subject.

With respect to the quantity of the preci-

ons metals that come direct from Portugal, I perhaps was not better informed. I certainly have spoke on some subjects without good authority, and on others without any authority at all; for the fact is, that a writer in general, is like a miser, he amasses materials with too great avidity, or a short investigation of the means by which they are acquired. Buffon, Raynal, and nearly all the writers I know of, did the same; as to regular historians, they are obliged to be more circumspect, and quote authorities; but philosophers are supposed to collect information from all quarters, and sometimes very obscure ones: so that they are not expected to quote them, and if they were, they would sometimes find it very difficult.

I, in no part of my inquiry, write like a man who thought his opinions should not be questioned, and it shews that I have been very imperfectly understood by those who pretend to pay the most regard to me, when they are offended that notes or commentaries have been added to my work.

If I aimed at truth, I of course must wish the subject to be agitated in every way; and I appeal to those who knew me, if they do not think that truth and not the gratification of vanity, was my object in writing my inquiry; and I am so far from wishing the cause of truth to be injured, or the investigation of the true principles of political economy impeded, either out of a *real* or a *pretended* respect and veneration for my opinions, that what I have to recommend to all those who cultivate that interesting study, is to devest themselves, as much as possible, of all prejudices, either in favour of, or against those who have already written.

Of one thing I am convinced, that the system that is best in a rising country, where capital is scarce, and labour cheap, will not be the best when capital is in great abundance, and labourers can scarcely be got. And again, in a country that affords a great field both for labour and the employment of capital, a different system of economy is required from what would answer best in a country where every thing is brought into full use.

China is a country of the latter species, America of the former, and England, as well as most countries in Europe, are in a middle state.

Political economy, when brought to its highest state of perfection, will be but a combination of principles and circumstances, like forms of government; but abstract principles, without attention to particular circumstance, will, in both cases, lead to error.

I hope I have said enough to shew that investigation ought to be free, and that political economy is not like mathematics, a science capable of being brought to a state of perfection, and consequently that it is always open to new information and improvement.

It is with pain that I perceive that *fashion* has some influence in opinions on this subject, and that those who differ in opinion, regard each other with a degree of contempt that is by no means either necessary or becoming, particularly as the subject is sufficiently intricate for a great difference of opinion, without any cause for astonishment.

I am, by no means, displeased with the Earl of Lauderdale, for having written a book in answer to mine; though, perhaps, his title is rather too much indicative of a man who was conscious of having gained a victory: and I am well pleased with the additional chapters and notes to my original work, that have been added by Mr. Playfair, for it is a fit and convenient way of enabling the reader to judge. That author has, in a very modest manner, given his reasons for the publication, taking no credit to himself, but attributing it to the accidental circumstance of his writing at a

later period, and having the knowledge of facts, and the means of making observations that I could not possibly have.

So far is it from being any general objection to my theory, that I am wrong in some instances, and right in others, that it is an argument in my favour. Thus, for example, the Newtonian theory of the solar system has been found incorrect in some parts, without that unhinging the system; whereas, derange, in the least degree, the system of Descartes, and the whole falls to the ground.

In one word, it is from the clashing of opinions, the collision of inquiring minds, that truth springs. In the contest, let men be liberal, and keep the great end in view, and never let the mind be biassed by the reflection that one person thought so, and another thought the contrary; for he who cannot bear conviction in his own mind, but builds his opinion on the reputation of another, is not fit to discuss questions of so intricate a nature, as the most of those are that relate to political economy.

It may be expected, that I should say something on the subject of the connection between the French economists and the revolution of France, a revolution that has not astonished mankind more by the novelty of its manner, than it has by its horrible cruelties, in perpetrating which, it is true, that some of the political economists had a share.

I do, however, believe, that share was merely accidental—As a reform in finance and an amelioration of the state of the people were the great objects of the meeting of the States General, in 1789, it was natural that the economists who understood these subjects best, should co-operate, when called so to do. The fall of the feudal system, the destruction of privileges, and some other changes were certainly their work; but before the revolution assumed a very formidable aspect, those economists were instruments, not leaders. Robespierre was not of their class, nor Danton, nor Petion, nor Talien, nor Guthon, nor Collet D'Herbois. The economists began the business it is true, but they knew not what they were doing; and as a proof that they were enemies to the enormities that were committed, most of them fell victims to the violent party.

I must confess that the conduct of some of the individuals, who were well-esteemed before the revolution, gave me much pain; but I never considered that conduct as connected with their principles of political economy, which have no sort of connection with the wild theories and infernal practices of the leaders of the French revolution, though they have some analogy, but analogy does not always imply connection.

The economists wished, no doubt, for an order of things where their plans might be executed, and the solidity of their principles proved, but the reign of Robespierre, which they are accused of contributing to bring about, was still more unfriendly to that, than the mild government of Louis XVI. If then the economists had any hand in the revolution, it was not in the bad part of it, but from ignorance of the extremes to which it would go.

To conclude this subject, however, I would advise men to be cautious of departing from experience and following theory, and on no account ever to think that questions of political economy can in general be solved, like those of pure mathematics or geometry, that is in a manner equally certain and universal, without regard to time, place, or circumstance. It follows from this that the inquiry can never be complete, and the application of its principles never absolutely certain; so that experience is always to be consulted, and the stock of knowledge liable to be increased with length of time: to collect facts and discuss opinions, are, therefore, both conducive to the arriving at a proper conclusion, and all those who adopt the principles of any writer

plicitly, are ignorant of the nature of the subject, which does not admit of being discussed with that degree of certainty, that intitles a writer to implicit confidence.

The cause of truth cannot be advanced, nor can my memory be honoured by an affected complaint against those who question my opinions. Remember, Gentlemen, I only stiled myself an inquirer, and never wished to be considered as a dogmatical teacher. Search for truth where you can find it, but do not be too tenacious of opinion, merely because you have adopted it, and then you may make improvement in the difficult, but useful science of political economy.

ADAM SMITH.

Shades, January 2, 1808.

LETTER XVIII.

FROM VOLTAIRE, IN THE SHADES—TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY DEAR VELCHES *,

I HAVE a great mind to be witty at your expence, but I am withheld by two reasons. You have suffered too much, in consequence of me and my associates, to be in humour for taking a joke; besides, as I always said, you were a composition of the monkey and the tyger, and as you have now assumed the latter character, it might be dangerous. You might, perhaps, break into the pantheon, and throw my body on the dunghill, as you have done those of Marat, Mirabeau, and others; I shall therefore be serious for once, and request your patience.

If any of you think, that when I ridiculed religion as much as I could, and the government as much as I dared do, that I had a settled design against them, they are mistaken. I only wanted to shine as a wit, and enjoy the reputation of being a philosopher. I confess, likewise, that I had as little expectation of reforming mankind, as I had design of making them worse; vanity, and a desire to be rich, were my motives. Had I written in favour of religion and government, I certainly could not have indulged my wit, or had the reputation of a philosopher, and probably might have died in a garret; for amongst all the truths, I uttered against governments, nothing deserves so universally that title, as their ingratitude.

I have been accused of being at the head of the philosophers.—Men who acted a very bad part afterwards. It is true But why?—Not that I liked them, for I despised most of them, and disliked them all; but the world esteemed them, and though individually, not men of much knowledge, their aggregate knowledge was very great. I was their king, priest, and prophet; in short, I was their chief. What could gratify my ambition more? Could I be blamed? The temptation was irresistable. What would not the king of Prussia have given to be that exalted character, amongst poets and philosophers, that I was? I verily believe, he would have given his kingdom; though like me, he hated and despised the most of the men.

To be at the head (for half a century) of men, who give the tone to Europe, was really worthy of ambition, mine was gratified; but, farther than making every thing sacred and serious, subservient to my personal views of ambition, I am not to blame. I did not forsee, much less intend the horrors of the revolution; and I did not calculate, my dear Velches, on your being so very light, and so ignorant; that you

* A title, partly for affection, and partly contempt, that signifies a good stupid sort of people, that he used to laugh at.

took all I said for serious, and consequently mistook me. My man of forty crowns, is a proof that I never meant equality, as I turned an equal division of property into ridicule, in the same disposition of mind in which I ridiculed optimism, and the pride of ancestry in Candid, and the Baron Thundertontronck; or, as I did natural philosophy in Micromegas; morality in La Pucelle, and the true religion in all my works.

The man of wit is like a thirsty traveller, who drinks at every stream. My ambition was to shine, on all occasions, and I let none escape. Principles and persons were to me indifferent, when I could gratify my passion. I had long flattered a monarch, who aspired at being thought a wit, a poet, and a philosopher; but I did it for his ducats and his dinners; and when our interest clashed, I ridiculed him, as seriously as I had flattered him interrestedly. When I quarrelled with Maupertuis, I took great delight in exercising my wit upon him, and I had a secret pleasure in wounding the whole of the philosophers in his person. I never was a philosopher myself, but I had the ambition to reign chief of the philosophers, whom I despised and detested, because I knew their vanity, jealousy, and meanness, crouching to wealth and power, yet internally despising those to whom they meanly crouched.

One advantage is gained by the revolution, if mankind have wisdom enough to make use of it. Fanaticism, it appears, is not now confined to religious zealots; but philosophy has its fanatics also, and they are the worst of the two. A fanatical court ordered the murder of Coligni, and the massacre of the St. Bartholomew; but a fanatical people perpetrated the murders of September, for the atrocity of which, history produces no parallel, and to which, language furnishes no appropriate title.

But of all those evils, I, and the philosophers, were to tally innocent; we thought to make men wiser and better, and by a chance, (awkward and unfortunate enough,) we made them worse, so that our plea for pardon must be *ignoramus*, which to put in, is no small punishment to the vainest men that ever breathed on the face of the earth.—Lay not then the fault on me. If I, and the philosophers, were the cause of your error, it was in a great measure unintentional, just as you, when you so bravely took the Bastile, by marching in when the gate was opened, had no idea that you were preparing the way for Bonaparte to become emperor.

Till men are able to controul Providence, they can only be answerable for their intentions, but not for the consequences of their actions; which, as I am now no infidel, I own, are regulated by a mysterious and supreme power, into the intentions of which, men, weak, ignorant, though presumptuous, cannot penetrate.

Adieu, my dear Velches,

VOLTAIRE.

Shades, March 1, 1808.

IMPORTANT LETTER ON BRITISH COMMERCE.

Continued from page 238.

MR. EDITOR,

I have perused, with some attention, the letter in your last number, addressed "*To British Mercantile Men*," which, from its tenor, ought, in my opinion, (if not *to the Merchants at Lloyd's*,) to have been addressed to the *Board of Trade*, or some department of government, which has the more immediate superintendance of the commercial interests of the country; for certainly those interests have been neglected, as you justly observe. But then the remedy does not rest with the merchants, but with the government, whose province I think it is to take cognizance of

every thing affecting the general prosperity of the country, as well as what endangers it.

Supposing, then, that you meant to make this appeal to the merchants, or the underwriters at Lloyd's coffee-house, or the subscribers (as they are termed) to these rooms. If they think proper, it certainly is in their power, by a well-directed policy, materially, if not entirely, to influence the general commerce of not only the United Kingdom, but, I believe, the whole world, were they to take the subject into serious consideration.

It is well known, in great mercantile speculations, that limited sums can only be insured at the various out-ports of the kingdom, and that the surplus uninsured, is then sent up to be insured at Lloyd's coffee-house, not only in all the business which emanates at home, but that from abroad; and, in short, in any new, great, or uncommon adventure, (either with respect to our own trade, or that of any other country in the world,) is, from the insurance made there, (as in ordinary times,) always sure to find its way to Lloyd's coffee-house.

I do not see, for my part, how the merchants could fix agents in various quarters of the world, in the manner you intimate, or the benefit that would result to the public from it, though government is certainly blameable in this point, in not appointing proper agents and consuls in every quarter, men well qualified for such situations; letting the commerce of the country contribute to their salary, and sending every possible information, relative to both the politics and commerce of the country, to government, and likewise to a committee, which ought to be formed at Lloyds, in any thing relating to the shipping, and other matter affecting the insurers.

So far, as relates to itself; Lloyd's has some excellent institutions, and one in particular highly admirable, not only as preserving their own interest, but in a national point of view, a primary cause of improving our shipping, and keeping it in the best state of repair. At every port in the kingdom they have secret agents, who report the state of all ships, the repairs, &c. both of British and foreign shipping, which is weekly entered into a book, (only possessed by subscribers) and the underwriters fix a premium accordingly. They should have similar agents abroad, for the very same purpose. It is there they are successfully defrauded, for the want of a confidential agent, who could effectually preserve their interests; in so far, then you are right; but the business at Lloyd's, is becoming so unprofitable a pursuit, that many prudent men will soon, I should suppose, relinquish it. The successful predatory excursions of the French privateers, is not restrained by the vigilance and activity, which might be expected from the Admiralty.

I have now given you the very clue and foundation to every thing, relating to the general commerce of the world, furnishing the most certain opportunity, by the practical effects of others, to discover what would most materially promote the particular interests of our own country. Were the merchants at Lloyd's, (from amongst the most intelligent) to select a committee, who should meet, two or three times a week, or oftner, to receive information, from all individuals frequenting that house; or discuss those objects, which had come within their observation, either to promote the general, or any particular branch of the commerce of this country; the result should be communicated, to that department of government which has the immediate protection of trade.

Whilst I am dictating a line of conduct to the gentlemen at Lloyd's, I must, at the same time, intimate what is needful on the part of government, to produce an easy and effectual co-operation with them.

At present there is a Board of Trade, it is true, but so exceedingly occupied, and so inaccessible, that merchants dread nothing more than being obliged to lounge about the treasury, when their concerns compel them, by which they lose a great deal of time, in often fruitless attendance; which is so irksome and inconvenient, that what they would often voluntarily communicate, there is no time at the interview, and certainly no inclination, when they are often scarcely enabled to state that which affects their own immediate interests.

Now, to remedy this evil, let the government appoint an office for the special purpose of receiving all communications upon commercial matters; let a clever, intelligent, and attentive man, well acquainted with general commerce, and, if possible, one who has been a practical man, preside—let him digest all those communications, and lay them before the present superior board, which would lop off all the detail, and present the important matter at once, dressed ready for its discussion; thus a facility and dispatch would be given to business in the high departments, the want of which, every man connected with trade in the United Kingdom, bitterly complains about.

I believe, I have pointed out the error and the remedy on both sides; I cannot, however, help thinking, that the greatest error is on the side of government, which has become a little piqued at the Lloyd's gentlemen having shewn a display of humanity and generosity, in their patriotic subscriptions, for the relief of the families of the killed, and those wounded in battle, as interfering with the patronized reward and prerogative of some of the departments of the state. Let these little jealousies subside; this is a period that ought to produce a general unison, for the general good of the country, which is certainly in greater danger than the people believe, or ministers, perhaps, are aware.

When such a combination fortunately takes place, as that I have stated, the country will very soon feel its beneficial effects. Power, enterprize, and protection, will then insure a permanent and increasing commerce to this empire. And we shall not, for a series of time, have to dread the prospect of history, ranking this kingdom after Carthage, Palmyra, Venice, Lisbon, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, whose commercial greatness we reflect upon as a story long told; but, however, let the errors of other nations and people, be a salutary lesson to us. Let government, in due time, hold out the fostering hand; those who hold the reins are but servants of the public, and it is their duty to select men of talents, information, and experience, for every suitable department of the state, without regard to family connection, or the influence of interest or party. It is such a judicious reflection in the one hand, and the weakness of the states, in omitting it, on the other, that has, and will enable Bonaparte to hold forth in his unprecedented career. Let us profit by his example, in this instance at least.

AN OBSERVER.

London, May 1, 1808.

COMMERCE.

WE are thankful to AN OBSERVER, for his communication, and we doubt not, that he understands much better than we do, the arcana of Lloyd's, and the particular business of the merchants. He, perhaps, can measure their *capacities*, their *public spirit*, and their *general zeal*, in the support of the general cause.

If he thinks, that to speak to such men, is like trying to charm the deaf adder, we are sorry for the circumstance; but we must,

nevertheless, say, our address was intended for the general mercantile interest, not knowing that the underwriters at Lloyd's comprehend the whole of that wealthy body.

We should be apt to think that the OBSERVER supposes, the commercial or mercantile men do not comprehend who is meant by that title; but in this, we conceive, he must be mistaken—they cannot be so ignorant. Every dog can answer to his name without its being engraved on his collar, and every man concerned in exporting or importing, directly or indirectly, must see he is included in those to whom we addressed ourselves.

As to the government of the country, we did not address, or mean to address ourselves to it; for the government is now become perfectly passive in all such things; by perfectly passive, we mean, that it never acts, but when action becomes necessary; or rather, when it becomes unavoidable. ANTICIPATION is, by no means, the fort of government, or even its aim; for ANTICIPATION is never an act of *necessity*, it is an act of prudence and wisdom, and tends to avert calamity, or to procure advantage by previous measures, whereas necessity is always owing to some existing circumstance.

What we wish the merchants to do is quite out of the circle, within the circumference of which this goverment has resolved to move; we should, therefore, have been trying to charm a deaf adder, indeed, if we had attempted to persuade the government to interfere. The government, perhaps, may interfere when it will be too late; but it will be led to interference from circumstances, not from arguments.

Even if government did interfere, we are not quite of the Observer's opinion. The energy and wisdom of individuals, when they can be brought to act, are of greatly more efficient advantage, than the slow and regular interference of government, which acts at second-hand, with a slow pace, and uncertain motion, for the movers never understand the subject themselves.

Only consider the discussions about the distilleries, as they have taken place in parliament, and you will see, that in common newspapers and pamphlets, the matter has been much more ably handled, though with much less means of information.

Public boards and committees, are so involved in form and ceremony, and the members so little acquainted with the subject, or interested in the event, that we depreciate the interference of them in trade, of the principles of which they are ignorant.

We cannot help lamenting, most bitterly, the indifference of public men, to the public interest; but, as the Observer has taken up so much space on this business, we shall refer the farther consideration till next week, when we shall certainly return to the subject.

BONAPARTE'S POLITICS.

Continued from page 224.

WE are continually compelled to return to this disgusting subject, and, what is still worse, the horror of his detestable career, increases as we advance.

We long ago observed, that he gained more by treachery, by bribery, and by either misleading, or betraying his enemies, than by force; and of this he has recently given a most incontrovertible example.

The history of the world furnishes nothing equal to the baseness of the conspiracy against Spain, as a friend, and as an ally. The best troops of that devoted kingdom, were called to assist in a distant expedition, and when the country was drained of its force, it was divided artfully into parties, and even the father and son were cruelly set at variance.

Whilst Spain was weakened by internal divisions, and by sending off her troops to fight in foreign countries, the troops of France, on a false pretext, were poured in great numbers into Spain. Riots were excited, and the people massacred, at the same time that the weak king, and the wicked prince were decoyed into France, to be held as prisoners, or hostages, by the wily and atrocious Bonaparte.

By such means, has the once powerful kingdom of Spain been reduced; but we must allow, that if nothing can equal the atrocious villainy of Bonaparte, so likewise nothing can equal the blind weakness of the government of Spain. But this is not a time to be wasted in vain lamentation of the fatal consequences, or in wondering at the consummate wickedness of one, or weakness of the other, we must make use of the information for our own advantage, and be upon our guard.

As Bonaparte had a secondary view, when he drew the Spanish troops to the North, to fight his battles; so, also, we are persuaded, he has a secondary motive now—by driving the Spaniards to dispair. He may force that people, to take refuge in the arms of England; and, knowing the brave and generous spirit of this country, he may expect to draw our troops to the assistance of Spain, when he will make a descent upon the coasts of Britain and Ireland, at different points, at one and the same time.

This is a subject that ought to be very seriously attended to; seeing, as we have seen, that Bonaparte has, at all times, played a very deep and double game, and that, whilst completing the ruin of one nation, he has been always preparing the ruin of another.

We do not give credit, to its full extent, to those rumours, that have come so rapidly, of the friendly disposition of Spain towards England; but, let that be as it may, our only way to keep clear of danger is, to consider what is best and most prudent for us to do, in the present unexpected situation of affairs.

Undoubtedly, it would be well, on every account, to assist the brave and injured Spaniards: for, if Bonaparte is fairly defeated there, he will be in a worse situation than he has yet been. It may even be the prelude to his downfall, and the rallying of other nations, in their own defence; for, that they will rally, when they have an opportunity, we have always said, and there can be no doubt.

Allowing then, that to assist Spain, is the most desirable thing. Admitting the expediency of this, in its fullest extent, we are not to forget the manner in which it may be done, consistent with prudence.

If the Spaniards cannot shake off the galling yoke, by their own strength and energy, they never can do so by means of British troops. British ships on the coast, arms, ammunition and money, may be of great use, and we can send them with safety; but British troops, we cannot send with safety to ourselves, or so as to be of much utility to them.

We know that Bonaparte calculates, with great care, the number of forces sent out of England; and we have stated it with a certainty of the fact: and we are convinced that the attacks on Sweden, and on Spain, at the same moment, are made partly with a view, to make us distribute our forces in different quarters, whilst he makes an attack upon our shores.

There are, in this country, many intriguing foreigners, who pretend to be the enemies of Bonaparte, but who are secretly his friends, and exite us to a sort of wild energy to overturn him; and therefore do we depreciate, in the strongest terms, any of that wild spirit of enterprise, that may forward his views.

Might we not send ships to communicate

with the Spanish soldiers, that have so artfully been sent into the north of Germany? Might we not convey those troops back to their own country? But how can we expect, that any number of soldiers that we can spare, would turn the fortune of the day?

There are about nine millions of inhabitants in Spain.—If they are well inclined to fight for their country, their number is sufficient; if they are not well disposed, it is not any number of land forces that we can send from this country, that will overturn the horrible, and too well laid plans of the emperor of the French.

In complicated affairs, which we cannot well understand, in detail, the best way is to take a good plain common sense view of the matter, and surely this is one of those complicated affairs, if ever there was one; for, in itself, it is intricate and with the small connection we have of late years had with that country, our information is very imperfect and incomplete.

What, for example, do we know of the real disposition of the people in favour of the King, or of the Prince of Asturias, and both are in the hands of Bonaparte? What, again, do we know of the balance of power between revolutionists, and those who dislike revolution? what of the energy or the grandees and nobles, or the influence of the clergy, or the attachment of the people to both, or to either? In short, what do we know, either respecting the will, or the means of the people of Spain?

That they have been goaded to resistance, is highly probable, and if so, that resistance is no proof of perseverance in resisting.

Could we have thought that the proud, Germans would have yielded to Bonaparte, yet nothing is more complete than their submission; and surely Spain is not in a state equally able to make an effectual stand. Are we, after that, to place any reliance on a steady opposition in Spain? No! certainly.—Let us assist the Spaniards with arms, ammunition, and money, if they want it.—Let us enable them to rally in their own defence, but do not let us attempt to defend them.

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I Do not mean you any compliment, when I declare, that of all the papers or books I have read for these many years, none has given me so much pleasure as the letter from Sir Isaac Newton, in the Shades, to the Modern Philosophers. What a mild and distinct method does that great man take, to shew the absurdity, insignificance, and vanity of the materialists!! How incontrovertibly does he prove the folly of extending human researches, to what is beyond human power, and how forcible is his reasoning, with respect to the necessity of admitting things that are not understood, and the consequent absurdity of refusing belief to any thing, merely because it is beyond our comprehension.

I only trouble you with my observations, in hopes that the higher clergy will take notice of a work, conducted on such excellent principles. Go on and prosper, and may all men of true religion, and all men who detest the scepticism of the day, second your efforts, and give energy to your endeavours. The great bulwark of the materialists, is now broke down, in so simple and plain a way, that a man of a common plain understanding, may overthrow all their arguments. Do you believe what you cannot comprehend? Do you believe what cannot be accounted for, on the common principles of philosophy? Such were the eternal questions of the Materialists: and

the question itself, served to puzzle and perplex men, who thought that these pretended philosophers *understood every thing that they believed.* Sir Isaac Newton has, however, plainly shewn, that they understand scarcely any of the things, that they themselves are obliged to believe, and confess they do believe. In short, he proves that they understand nothing more about the *original cause* of attraction, than about the creation of the world, and that the only difference is, they witness one, but did not witness the other. They might as well deny the existence of China, or of Siberia, because they never have seen either. In short, Sir, in my opinion, that letter puts an end to all those contests, that have appeared to furnish the unbelievers with matter of triumph, and to stagger those who, less vain, are disposed to give credit to what they have not absolutely seen.

I wish this might be propogated, as widely as possible, and

I remain,
Sir,
Your humble servant,
No MATERIALIST.

London, June 2, 1808.

LUNATICS.

LETTER I.

To the Right Honourable

THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

My Lord,

When last week we inserted the letter, signed Humanitas, to your Lordship, we had little idea of the extreme cruelty of the case of Mr. Ludlam, which had given occasion to that letter.

We have since made inquiry, and obtained such proofs as would serve to produce conviction in any court of justice, to which, therefore, we cannot refuse giving credit.

Physicians may certainly be allowed a discretional power in many cases, but there are others, of which every man of common sense is capable of judging; and to use the power that is only intended in the case of dangerous derangement in cases where derangement is by no means apparent, when there is, at all events, no danger, appears to be one of the greatest of crimes. It is insulting and oppressing human nature, when in one of the most pitiable of situations, supposing the lunacy to be real.—Supposing it is not real, then the crime assumes another shape, and admits of a very different sort of conclusion; it is not an abuse of power granted by legal authority, it is a breach of the law, in the most cowardly manner, and in the most oppressive form.

I believe, my Lord, it can be proved, on affidavit, that when the unfortunate gentleman got over the state of real lunacy, into which he was thrown about eighteen month ago, (which was in a very short time,) he behaved with great *moderation, composure,* and prudence.

Under your Lordship's protection he still continued, attended by one of Dr. Monroe's men, who can declare the symptoms of insanity have long vanished. It was not till the cause that would have reinstated him in the management of his own affairs came on, that, it would appear, an *experiment* was to be made on his state of mind; and your Lordship will not be much astonished at the result, though we are certain you will be astonished at the experiment itself.

A second keeper arrived in aid of the first; this was the supernumerary experimental gentleman, who began by violently

putting Mr. L. in a strait waistcoat, and after he was in that helpless and pitiable state, beating him, kneeling on his breast, and doing what would make any man in the world desperate. Had murder been the consequence, when this shocking affair was over, and Mr. Ludlam had obtained his liberty, it would not have been at all surprising.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Monroe was not acquainted with the truth, but it is here asserted, and without fear of contradiction, that the learned man who gave such medicine to a mind deceased, seemed very little solicitous about the business. In less time, my Lord, than a cook would take to see whether a potatoe was boiled, did this scientific doctor decide on the derangement of his unhappy patient.—Yes, my Lord, and he decided, that the patient was mad, and required a strait waistcoat. We must beg leave to refer your Lordship to the circumstantial details, to prove what we say; but, in an address to so high a personage, and on so important a subject, we wish, from respect, to be brief; and we request your Lordship to be assured, that we are perfectly aware of the impropriety, as well as danger, of inserting any thing on light grounds; but, where we are supported by truth, we think it our duty to come forward in defence of a human creature, reduced to a situation, where the common law of the land affords him no protection.

My Lord, it appears that a master has not more power over his dog, than a doctor and his keepers have over a real, or a supposed lunatic, except in the regard to the right of taking life away. As to their means of tormenting, it is infinitely greater. The dog only feels the blows, he feels no insult, on him the bitter grin, the sarcasm, and the abuse of words have no effect, and the mental pain, is, therefore, out of the question. In the case of a man that is deranged, the misery consists in the mind, and surely the cup is sufficiently full, without the addition of artificial aggravation.

We shall have but one moment's more attention to request. As the public opinion is, that Mr. Ludlam is a dangerous madman: that opinion, we shall endeavour to do away.

The unfortunate affair of the London Tavern, had it happened at three o'clock in the morning, after being heated with a quarrel, and with wine, would have passed for a drunken adventure, such as occur in all places, and on many occasions. We do not mean to vindicate that, or to make light of it, but merely to give the act its true character. Drink and irritation, were the cause, in a place of business, in the middle of the day, and amongst sober men: change the place to Covent Garden, to the night, and amongst drunken companions, and we shall be able to judge, whether the act, however culpable, is to be considered as a proof of permanent derangement.

Lord Erskine behaved in the most admirable manner on this occasion; and in the details which will appear, it will be proved, that Mr. Ludlam is a high spirited man, and perhaps too vain of his abilities, which are not of the common sort, had met with great cause for vexation; and the same thing acting on his mind, when much heated with constant labour in bringing a good plan to bear, had actually unhinged his mind, and prepared him, not only for one, but for several acts of madness.—This madness, however, though it was perfectly real, was one that went off, and that probably never will return, for it never can have a similar cause, and Mr. Ludlam's mind is prepared to combat the danger, which then he did not forsee.

He has had a severe lesson too, and now knows, that neither abilities, nor any injuries sustained, will excuse a man for breaking through the laws of the land; therefore, he is, by no means, likely ever

to act in an insane manner again, unless excited to it by those who are around him.

The justice and humanity of your Lordship, will, it is hoped, excuse this address from,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

THE EDITOR.

London, June 2, 1808.

A letter to Dr. Monroe—another to the public, and the details of this affair, will appear, without interruption or delay; for the first step towards obtaining the protection of the law, is to convince the Lord High Chancellor, and the public, that he is capable of administering and managing his own affairs.

Private mad houses have long been thought worse than the bastiles of France, and it will not be difficult to prove that it is true. This matter well deserves the attention of the public.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

THE last attack on the Marquis of Wellesley is a proof of the justness of your remark, on the persecution intentionally exercised on men of energy, of character, and abilities. I say so, because the manner in which the business is conducted, is not like that of men, seeking the ends of justice. It is not like men, who avow the real motive of their action, for procrastination is what they aim at, which is always unfair, in the case of an attack on character.

I need not, Sir, expatiate on this, for it is very evidently the purpose intended, and further more, and the ultimate design is, to hang the accusations up till another session; and, in the mean time, they think the Marquis cannot be taken into administration, where his talents would, at this time, be so useful.

As all this is done to prejudice the public against that nobleman, I think it fair to let that public know, through your paper, the nature and extent of the obligation it owes to the persecutors of the Marquis.

It is well known, that few men have a quicker discernment, more promptitude in execution, or more activity, spirit, and perseverance, than Lord Wellesley, and therefore his talents would strenghten the present government greatly. This the opposition of course want to prevent; and again, those democratical prints, that (underhand) favour Bonaparte, those people who wish the national debt destroyed, and the clergy abolished, asperse his lordship, that he may not aid his sovereign with his abilities and energy.

Well knowing, that whatever is to be condemned in the transactions in India, was owing to our system in that country, and not to the governor, they could not gain their end, by bringing the matter to a prompt decision; because they know, that come when it may, the decision will be in favour of the Marquis, so that delay is the only mode, by which they can serve the ungenerous and bad cause.—Your inserting this, will oblige

ARISTIDES.

TO MR. SHERIDAN.

SIR,

WE could scarcely have thought that the imitators of PAULL, FOLKESTONE, and orators of *their particular species*, would find a man crouded into their company, who possessed the brilliant talents of the *Right Honourable* RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

You have been at considerable pains, through life, Sir, to shew that, if you have not been a careful and correct man in your conduct, yet, that you never forsook the interests of your country, or acted from base motives, in your public capacity.

In the present case, you must be acting without considering the consequences, or you would otherwise see, that to delay so heavy a charge, and therefore keep alive so cruel a slander, is highly unjust, towards the nobleman who is its object.

Why not have long ago come forward with all that could be said, and see, at once, what was to be done?—No man takes fire more readily than yourself, when your conduct is arraigned!—Have you, Sir, no feeling for others?

You cannot be ignorant that it is one of the unavoidable evils of this world, that justice can never be obtained, without the risque of punishing a man, who may, on trial, be found innocent. This punishment is more or less, according to circumstances; but it is inflicted in the interval, between accusation and trial, and as it is a premature punishment, it ought to be lessened by every means possible. In some cases, the injury admits of no compensation, as in the present case of the Marquis Wellesley; therefore, every man, either of honour, or of feeling, ought to do his utmost, to lessen the extent and duration of the *premature punishment*.

You, Sir, are considered as a man of honour and of feeling. Do not forfeit your claim, and as you cannot deny my position, I say that it is your duty, from regard to your own character, to oppose any farther delay in this business. Exert yourself as you please, to obtain justice, but never lend your aid to agravate oppression.

Your proposal to include the whole of the Marquis's transactions in one, is, in my opinion, unfair; but it may have one advantage, for it should be understood to be FINAL, and that there can come no after accusation. Let this be understood, and it will be some reparation for the prolonged sufferings that have wantonly, if not wickedly, been inflicted.

Remember your own character is at stake, in this business; for if you do not (now that you have interfered,) bring it to a termination, the fault must lay with you; for the world never will suppose such men as Lord Folkstone are the leaders, when Mr. Sheridan is in the company.

Whether it is from modesty or shame that you only appear a sort of auxiliary in this affair, I cannot determine; but, be assured, that the world thinks you are not acting with your usual frankness. Shew the world, if you can, that they are wrong, and you will preserve the character you have hitherto, under all vicissitudes, maintained—that of moderation and liberality, such as befit a member of the honourable House, and a Gentleman.

I hope to have no occasion for a second address on this subject, and

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
AMICUS.

We approve highly of the letters of ARISTIDES and AMICUS, and as a great number of the members of both Houses read this paper, we doubt not they will have an effect, in putting an end to a cruel and unprincipled delay. We know not what Lord Folkstone, and the Cobbett Satellites may think, but we know what Mr. Sheridan will, and we know him to be incapable of persisting in a harsh action, when once he sees it in its true light.

LEWIS XVIII. AND FRENCH PRINCES.

Continued from Page 219.

IT is now more apparent than ever, that Bonaparte is determined on the destruction of all the princes of the HOUSE of BOURBON. The cruel and artful manner

in which he has lured the family of Spain from their throne and country, is a proof of his determination to stop at nothing, to involve them in endless ruin.

With the kings whom he has conquered by force, he has had some moderation, but they were not of the BOURBON race. We see a difference in the *convoi*.—The escort is not the same, but the journey of the royal family of Spain, is not quite unlike the last sad voyage of the Duc D'Enghein, to the wood of Vincennes.

Of the cruelty (doubly refined) of Bonaparte, we cannot say too much, but it would be useless to proclaim what is so well-known; we shall, therefore, take a view of this subject, that may be more useful.

The King of Spain deserves what he has met with, from his having the meanness to become an instrument in the oppression of Portugal. After that, we cannot pity him, however much we may blame his betrayer, who was his former accomplice.

The Prince of Asturias we cannot pity; for he, by his conduct to his father, forfeited all title to esteem, and a bad son never can be a good man, in any one sense of the term.

Of the other branches of the family, we say nothing, for nothing do we know; but we are pleased to find that *Fleance is fled*. That there is, yet, a prince of that house, out of the reach of the modern Macbeth. That there is one at the Brazils, with the family of Braganza; where, in exile, he will learn those lessons, that may, at some future period, enable him to return, and revenge the injuries done to his country; for, however much the King of Spain may be to blame, the people of the country did not participate in his misconduct.

The necessity of arranging matters with the princes of the House of Bourbon, that are in this country, in such a manner, as to prevent future contention on their account, is now more apparent than ever. The wisdom of abandoning all claim to the Throne of France, is more evident, and of course our danger, in strengthening our connection with that prince, more evident also.

We shew, that we feel the matter thus: for he has got only a half sort of reception; an equivocal species of welcome. Are we afraid, or are we ashamed? We ought to be neither; but to act in a way, that will neverbring us either into disgrace or danger.

As to the princes, they have never shewn any sense of regard for the government of this country. Their *followers* laugh at ministers, and admire Bonaparte. The destruction of England, is a subject on which they speculate with a coolness, that is evidently the consequence of indifference, and if their own fate were not, in some sort, connected with it, they would be apt to rejoice; for as they are different as it is, how would they be, were they out of the risque of danger?

The princes owe several debts, as we have already said. They refuse making any sort of compromise; saying, that this government keeps them without money, and insinuating that they are very harshly and ill treated.

We know that all this is untrue, that they are too well treated, and that what they throw away, would feed half the starving weavers at Manchester. We must, and we will speak the truth! there are abuses here that demand a remedy, and we shall not quit the subject, till we have, at least, made our efforts in obtaining it.

A *settlement in Canada*, would be the way to end the intrigues and the expence, and to avert the impending mischief.

It is too much, even for English generosity, to fight for princes, who have always been its enemies, and yet, if we keep the claimant to the throne of France, let us do what we please to that complexion must it come at last.

The French are such people for intrigue, and getting themselves so connected with persons in the higher circles, that they carry every point. Our unsuspecting ministers are no match for them; but they ought to set favour and affection aside, and be guided strictly by what they think is right and wise, without any other consideration; for, whenever they begin to listen to fine stories, the business is finished. He who struggles with temptation, struggles only to be overcome; and they who enter into the intricate affairs of the emigrants, are certain to become their dupes.

[*To be continued.*]

SIR HOME POPHAM.

Sir Home Popham's business is now terminated, and, we hope, laid entirely to rest. We never heard a more uninteresting speech than that of Mr. Lushington. The materials were scanty, they were rotten and ill-arranged. The building so constructed, could neither have strength nor beauty. Indeed, it seemed to fall on the builder's head; for the majority, on the occasion, was uncommonly great. It was so great, as to prove that the general conviction acted, and not party spirit in the vote given: or rather, that the spirit of party sunk before the truth, otherwise the division on the question, would have been more equal.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The person who is curious to know what the opposition have got left, for continuing the harrassing of ministers, during the remainder of the session, may rest assured, that they have plenty, consisting of *intended, accidental,* and *second-hand questions.* But the fact, that the sinking-fund paying off as much as we borrow, stops their effect.

We decline inserting the letter from Manchester, because we are convinced every thing will be done for the working people, that is practicable; it must, however, be remembered, that it is dangerous to meddle much in regulating trade. We remember, when the poor weavers of Spital-Fields, complained bitterly of the manufacturers of Manchester. Let this be remembered, as a hint to the legislature, with respect of the impossibility of reconciling all opposite interests; while we say this, we say also, that the weavers of Manchester better merit relief, than the West India planters.

A Correspondent has given us a long article on the Distilleries, and the West India Merchants; but he does not know, that long since we shewed, that the West India Merchants had given in a very strange statement to the committee, last year, and that they were not in the circumstances they represent.

The Anecdotes of the Prince of Peace, are not to our liking. We see no utility in raising indignation against a fallen man, who after all, probably, was not so bad, as many others would have been in his place, for he certainly possessed unlimited authority in Spain.

The Catholic Question we shall not again enter into, as we know it is only brought forward to harrass Ministers, and it would be useless to make any farther remarks.—Those who harrass ministers, are determined to persist in doing so; and if, looking at Spain, they still think they are right, what can any thing we have to say produce.

Printed by W. Glindon, *Rupert street, Haymarket and published for the Proprietors,* 24, *Porter-street, Long-Acre,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N°. 14.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON,
48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors,
24, Porter-Street, Long Acre

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK."

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

MANCHESTER WEAVERS.

WE have declined inserting a paper sent to us, relative to those unfortunate persons, because, it appeared, it might have a tendency to increase discontent; but we think it important to call the public attention to the subject.

Legislative interference for the regulation of prices, whether a maxumums or a minimum, is a dangerous thing; but there are, in our opinion, other ways of interfering, that are not dangerous.

The East India Company receives assistance. The West India planters solicit and obtain the aid of government, and what is the plea? Why, that large capitals are embarked, and will be lost if they are not assisted. Now, though this may be true, is it not equally so with the cotton trade. Is not the capital invested immense? and are not the persons who have done so, just as deserving of encouragement and protection as West India planters, or the merchants who live in luxury on the mortgages upon the estates, and the profits on the sales of sugar?

If we look not to the protection of capital alone, we shall find there is still another motive for aiding the Manchester people, which gives them the preference.

Most part of the working people in the

cotton trade, are employed in it from their very early youth. They learn no other occupation, and they are totally unfit for any; they are like a tribe of Helots, or a degraded cast in India, whose misfortunes arise, not from their conduct, but from the situation to which they were born.

It is true, that government or society are by no means the cause of this. It arises not from oppression, or any desire to oppress, but from the free exercise of the will of the parent, in the employment of his child. That circumstance, however, does not render the unfortunate child less an object of pity; on the contrary, as it is what takes place at so early an age, there is no act of volition on the part of the child, the case is peculiarly hard, and peculiarly deserving commiseration, when, as at present, the means of employment fails.

Why might not government, in order to render the cotton trade a little more regular, and prevent its fluctuation, lend capital on security of goods deposited. This might be done to a great extent, and would, without risque of loss, tend to relieve a very important and numerous class of persons.

The real case, however, is, that the cotton manufacturers, can count but few votes in parliament. The East India and West India gentlemen can muster a great many; but the justice of the case, and the interests of this country should be looked to, without considering parliamentary interest, which is but a secondary affair; some mode must be found to prevent industrious men, who are willing to work, from starving; or to hinder the manufacturers, to whom this country owes so much, from establishing themselves elsewhere.

It is a curious fact, that in this country, (which owes so much of its importance to internal industry and invention; and so many of its wars and misfortunes to foreign possessions,) there is not either a peer or pensioner selected from amongst that class, to which we owe so much. It would be as tedious, as it would be disagreeable, to enumerate the peerages and pensions, that have been granted to servants of the East India Company.

Every title under the ducal rank, and every honour, not excepting the garter, has been bestowed on governors of India; but a knighthood and baronetcy, the two lowest ranks of honour, are the highest on the scale, to which genius, invention, or industry elevates a man, who exerts his talents at home. Perhaps all this is right—We do not pretend to give an opinion, but it is curious. The inventor of the cotton mill, who has done more for the wealth of this country, than any man that ever went to India, or, perhaps, all the men together, who have been enobled for the deeds of death, was raised to a title of the lowest order. This is not like a nation of traders, but like warriors and conquerors; the French need not laugh at us any longer on that account, for there cannot be a more decided proof of our contempt for manufacturers.

It may be said, that the manufacturers would not wish to be made lords; but this does not seem certain: for we have seen half the nobility in town crowding to visit a Yorkshire clothiers wife. We see cotton manufacturers in Grosvenor-Square, and with more splended establishments than many nobles; we are, therefore, a little sceptical, as to their unwillingness to be enobled, and cannot help thinking there is some other cause.

We are not, however, anxious about titles of honour for the masters; but we wish government would lend them money to keep the looms a-going, that the workmen and the families might have bread to eat; and we are persuaded, that this might easily be accomplished, with less trouble than stopping the distilleries for the en-

couragement of the West India merchants; and with less risque, than attends assisting the East India company.

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER XIX.

FROM M. L'ABBE RAYNAL, IN THE SHADES—TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

AMERICANS,

IT is not yet three centuries since a few savages roamed at large over these fertile plains, of which you now are the masters.

It is not yet thirty years since you were first reckoned amongst nations, and now you are flourishing, powerful, and rich; but you are not satisfied!! How does this happen? In the annals of the world, there is no instance of any people rising half so rapidly to wealth and power; yet you appear to wish to advance more rapidly still; and you are more likely, by your impatience and impetuosity, to retard, than to accelerate your career.

The circumstances naturally in your favour, a fine soil and climate, a government, that, if not the best possible, is, at least, not a bad one, nor badly suited to your situation, with all the arts, and none of the incumbrances of the old world, were great advantages, when, by an accident, foreign to you, the French revolution increased rapidly, your progress towards becoming a great and powerful people.

The disturbances of Europe have given you many useful industrious citizens, and skilful artists. Much wealth has passed over to you by the same cause; and to finish the whole, becoming almost the only neutral nation, you have monopolized a great part of the trade of the civilized world.

The exports and imports of the United States, are greater than those of Britain were fifteen years ago; they are greater than those of any other nation ever were; and if the population is taken into account, (between the number of inhabitants of the United States, and of Great Britain,) your trade far exceeds that of the latter country.

Under those circumstances, that you should not be contented, is strange; you appear insensible to the advantage of being at such a distance from Europe, as to avoid the necessity of taking a part in its broils.

You appear eager to engage. Well, then I will tell you the consequence, as you are not of a nation to take advice, I shall not offend you by offering it.

European intrigue—European influence, and European gold, will soon make you a divided people. Your population will be drawn to the west country, more extensive and fertile than the east; but all those who live on the western waters, must remain friends with the nation that controuls the seas. The Missisippi is the only outlet from their country, and it will be at new Orleans in the mouth of that great river, that the fate of the cities of Washington, New York, and Philadelphia, will on some future, but not distant day, be determined.

You will increase in numbers, at all events; but if you mix in the troubles of Europe, you will retrograde in happiness and in liberty; if you abstain from that, you will be carressed, courted, and feared; whilst your prosperity will go on advancing with increased rapidity.

But this is not one of the questions that

ought to be discussed altogether on a principle of interest, and, by no means, on views of immediate interest; there are other considerations that, (to a people who have their honour at stake,) should take the lead of all those selfish views, by which nations are too frequently guided.

Americans, you are a high-minded people, and I hope, you will not deny that you derive your origin from England—Reflect, therefore, for one moment, on the past, and on the present times.

England, a small country, the cradle of liberty, and the nurse of America. England at this moment, the last defender of liberty, is engaged in a contest, the most arduous and admirable that any nation ever maintained, will not, I hope, find her arms held by her own offspring, while fighting in defence of the deity that they adore!

No! generous Americans, let it never be said, that while England was making the last struggle for the liberties of mankind, you stept in to fetter her efforts.

If such could be the case, I should say, that the Americans had degenerated from their ancestors, and from that nation, from which they originally sprung.

You may see defects in England, but you cannot be blind to its merits; and you know that it is a nation that has supported the cause of liberty, in every quarter, where enlightened men have sought to establish, or preserve it, and it is now making the last efforts in that glorious cause. That nation from which you received your laws, your manners, and by which you were peopled and protected, is now fighting to preserve mankind from being involved in barbarism, or sunk under a military despotism, far worse than that of feudal times, during the ages of ignorance.

I cannot think that, speaking on this subject to a nation that is generous and wise, and that cherishes freedom, I can speak in vain.

Would you wish it to be recorded by future historians, when the gloom of despotism shall have again quitted the globe, some centuries hence, that, during the last sad struggle for freedom, America, herself free, had given the the last stab to its defender!!

Would you wish it to be recorded in future thus?

In this manner terminated that enlightened and happy period, that succeeded to feudal tyranny and monkish ignorance, when a military despotism was established, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, not only over Europe, but the whole of the civilized world.

Previous to the end of that great contest, in which Britain fell, the whole of the Continent of Europe had been subdued, when the United States, of America, that had been the first free nation in that quarter of the world, joined in the contest.

It might be supposed that a nation, so sensible of the blessings of liberty, and so remote from the scene of contest, must naturally have taken part with its defenders; or, if not, that the cause of interference was one of great magnitude indeed; what, however, will be said, when the enquirer is informed, that both the contending powers in Europe had given the Americans nearly equal cause of offence? but that the anger took a direction only against England, and assumed rather the form of submission towards France. That, on the whole, the cause of quarrel with either country was trivial, and of little moment; that the true interests of America would have made her abstain from interference; but Britain and America were rivals in commerce, France and America were not, and jealousy in trade overbalanced every other consideration.

Truth, however, will compel the future historian to record this transaction, should England fail in the contest; but, if she should prove successful, what will remain to

you but shame, without even the gratification of your passion, or any tempotary advantage.

It is not two centuries since you drove the savages from the soil you now possess. It is not yet thirty years since you became an independent people; you have doubled in population and in wealth, since the troubles in Europe commenced; and the rapidity with which you have increased in power and consequence is almost beyond belief; but still your ambition outruns that rapid course—Pause and reflect, you may lose instead of gaining; but, at all events, to acquire either honour or independence, is out of the question; for, if France should strangle liberty in the old world, her first effort will be to stifle it in the new; and it will be in vain to suppose, that either the Atlantic or the Blue Mountains, will set bounds to the ambition of a nation that aspires at subduing all mankind; and that, in order to obtain an easy and a sure conquest, begins by sowing discord amongst those who yet retain some sort of independence.

Shades, June 2, 1808. RAYNAL.

LETTER XX.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MANSFIELD, IN THE SHADES—TO Mr. ATTORNEY-GENERAL, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

SIR,

THE legislature of England, the crown lawyers, and the government, do not seem to be aware of the real situation of the country, particularly with respect to the liberty of the press. They do not appear to be alive to the dangers which it runs from licentious publications, written with an audacity, hitherto without precedent, and unfortunately without control.

I am not now, Sir, to observe any thing relative to the law of libels, as it stands, with respect to conviction, for I think that is pretty fair, and pretty severe: I mean to say, that I think a man, who is really guilty of a libel, stands little chance of escaping, if brought before a British jury; but I mean to advert to a new and unheard of evil.

There are a set of people who wish, not only to be tried, but to be convicted and imprisoned; men who have sufficient abilities to be scurrilous, but who have not talents to enable them to attract public attention any other way.

Such men calculate thus: If I attempt to write in a reasonable stile, I shall starve, or, at best, live in a garret.

If I write violently, I shall be sure to have a number of readers, and shall live at ease, in proportion to my violence; if not taken notice of by government, it is well; if I am, it is better.

If prosecuted I become a public man at once; if I am acquitted, I sell more than ever, I am the champion of the people, and roll in affluence; if I am imprisoned, I still continue to write—I become an object of pity and admiration, and make my fortune.

It is not every person that this calculation would suit; but it is sufficient that it suits a few in a nation, in order to do great mischief, and great mischief it does do; for there are of that disposition a sufficient number in England, who brave the law; because, to them, its utmost vengeance would be no punishment, but rather an advantage.

The rule, with respect to punishments, is one, in itself, too intricate, and too much dependent on circumstances, to be contained in any written and positive code; at the same time, much danger is to be apprehended from granting a too widely extended discretional authority, either to juries or judges. It is only in the abstract that men

are capable of being perfectly just; for in the application of law to any particular case, they are liable to the influence of human passions.

It is, however, essential towards the ends of justice, that punishment inflicted, should not be nominal, but real, and still more, that it should not be attended with advantage.

In delinquencies of an ordinary nature, such as theft, robbery, &c. whatever the punishment may be, disgrace is always its attendant, The same is the case with punishment for libels on individuals, or for any offence committed by a man, for the gratification of his own passions, the furthering of his own interest, or the supplying his own personal wants.

There are men, however, who, under pretence of pleading the cause of the public, obtain so much favour, that any punishment inflicted upon them, will be attended with triumph and advantage to themselves, unless such measures are taken, as will make the personal inconveniency of the punishment overbalance any collateral advantages, with which it might be attended.

It was a prison that made Wilkes chamberlain of London, and from a beggar, become a man of fortune and affluence; for which transition, he was neither indebted to his abilities nor his integrity.

In former times, a few individuals did raise themselves to popularity in this manner, and gratified private passions, and advanced their interests, by pretending patriotism, and the danger arising from their efforts was not great; now it is different; and not only are they numerous, but the number of those who listen to them is immense.

In addressing the government of England, the most happy in its form, and the most perfect of any that has yet been found practicable, one might use the language of the foreboding and afflicted *Andromache*, to the brave defenders of Troy:

" Singly, the Grecian heroes strove in vain,
" Now hosts oppose thee, and thou must be slain."

The example of what the power of the press effected in France, and the manner of using it are fatal—The crimes, vices, and luxury of princes, places, pensions, the hardships of the labouring classes, the burthen of taxes, and such other subjects, furnished matter for declamation and complaint, and afforded the means of rendering government, and the then existing order of things, odious to the people.

The next step towards bringing to bear the plan of revolt was, by rendering the royal family, and all those attached to it, personally, objects of hatred or contempt: in which they succeeded most completely: not, indeed, to the ultimate advantage, but to the complete overthrow of government, the alienation of property, and in that conformably to the plan, to the ruin of all those who then enjoyed places of power or profit.

In England the same sort of warfare has been, more or less, carried on, ever since the French revolution began.

Whilst that revolution had some appearance of success, and its principles were approved, the efforts of those who wished to excite discontent in England, were confined to the delusive theories that led the French astray; but no sooner had the fallacy of those theories been fairly exposed, than a new system was pursued of exciting discontent.

Equality, and the rights of man no longer lead the people astray; for even the most ignorant see, that misery is the end of attempting to establish them; but high taxes, places, pensions, and the personal failings of those who are in high situations, are the constant theme of declamation, and the source of discontent.

That the intentions of those writers are bad, may be concluded from this, that they

carefully conceal from those to whom their writings are addressed, that the new dynasty of Bonaparte, (born in a cottage, and brought up on charity,) is far more expensive than that of any sovereign in Europe; that the luxury and vices of the ancient court were nothing, in comparison of the new; and that, in France, they have expence without credit, grandeur without dignity, and, what is still worse, military despotism of the most galling sort, that ever was established.

All this being a fact, ought to be told by those who pretend to be the friends of the people; but no such thing—the faults and infirmities of those who enjoy a high station in England, are magnified into crimes; whilst the crimes of those who rule in France are softened down, under the description of temporary inconveniencies.

It cannot have escaped remark, that the same persons who attack government in every department, also shew a great degree of hatred to the royal family. Their end is very evident; and, perhaps, in no instance so clear as in the attack made on her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, whom every manly feeling ought to have protected, at least from any unnecessary insult.

A British public always feels an interest when any person is accused, without that sort of proof, that puts an end to all doubt, with respect to guilt or innocence. This arises from a natural love of justice, united with generosity, both of which are strongly blended in the English character, more than in that of any people on the face of the earth.*

If the ordinary distresses of people in common life interests, how much more are those of a personage of high rank, (from a foreign country, and of the tender sex,) calculated to inspire compassion, and to call for protection? But, instead of that, a princess of the house of Brunswick, the near relation, by blood, of the sovereign, and nearer still by alliance, is calumniated publicly, with impunity, by men who only wish to be prosecuted for their inhumanity and cowardice. As nothing that bears the least mark of authenticity is alledged against this princess, though a great deal is said, that, were it authenticated, would be very serious. Those who join in this malignant species of persecution, make use of an argument, that upon the first appearance, carries great weight:

If the Princess of Wales were not guilty, say they, who would dare to publish such an attack upon her reputation and honour?

But to those who know the real case, this is no argument at all; for guilty or not guilty, true or false, it is the same thing, to such writers, who say to themselves—"If we are not prosecuted, it is well!—If we are prosecuted, it is better!" Now as this is the case, and that it is so is certain, and as the evil that attends on such conduct is incalculable, it is the duty of government to protect itself, for self-preservation is equally incumbent on every moral combination as on every natural body endowed with power for the purpose.

I know, Sir, you will say that it is only in your power to put the law in force, as it is; but though that only is in your power, your duty carries you further, and you

* If there is a quarrel in the streets the spectators take an interest in it, each according to his opinion of the right; but though thus divided, or if even all happen to be of the same opinion, as to that, they invariably insist on seeing justice done, according to the established rules for fighting. This is not the case in any other country: in some they take part with the weakest, in others with the strong, but generally avoid all risque in interfering.

should suggest to the legislative body a remedy. At least you might say,

"I know that the authors of the libels on "the Princess of Wales are guilty, and de- "serve punishment; but if I were to pro- "ceed against them, and to succeed, much "greater publicity would be given to their "works, and the authors, from their con- "finement, would continue to publish more "audacious and hurtful libels still. So "that redress would not be obtained for the "injury, and the guilty person, so far from "being punished, would, in fact, be reward- "ed: the law of libels then is only efficient "in the cases of individuals, where the "public interest and attention is not ex- "cited; but where that is, it is worse than "a dead letter, for its suspension is the "greatest punishment of the culprit, its "execution, the greatest aggravation of "injury to the person who has suffered."

Whilst this remains the case, my duty is to suspend a law that would punish injured innocence, and reward criminal audacity; but let the law be suited to the nature of the case, and then I can execute my duty in another way.

I wish no aggravation of punishment; but I wish to make it equal: and in order to do that, I propose, that a man cast or imprisoned for a libel, can no longer publish in his own name; the printer and publisher are both to be answerable for his writings, if he continues to write and publish. This, I think, would prevent the appearance of such libels as have, of late, inundated the press, such as Cobbett, and the Independent Whig disgorge weekly, and such as are contained in the publications against the Princess of Wales, and the other branches of the royal family.

Were you to get a proper alteration made in the law, that might adapt it to present circumstances, you would even advance the cause of justice, which requires, that punishments should be proportioned to crimes. Now as to the mere act of imprisonment, it is, in some cases, very heavy punishment, and sometimes none at all, or very little.

Thus, for example, a person who can do his work and labour in prison, as an author, a watch-maker, or small worker of any kind, does not feel it any very severe calamity; whereas, a man who can gain nothing when shut up within the walls of a prison, may be considered as subjected to a very severe punishment.

In ordinary cases, the law cannot restore or preserve the equilibrium of crimes and punishments, for it would be unjust to prevent a prisoner from exercising his industry, if it is of such a nature, as to maintain him in prison; it is entirely out of the question, to pay the person who is unable to work, so as to put him on equal footing; but the case is different with authors, guilty of libels. They may write, but let others be answerable for their writings, then they will, at least, be deprived of any advantage from their imprisonment.

I am far from being an enemy to the liberty of the press; and half my life, and, I may say, the most troublesome part of my exertions, were employed in suppressing licentiousness, without trenching upon freedom; but, new circumstances have arisen since my time, and the law must be altered, according to the offences it is intended to prevent, or to punish.

As I am on the subject of punishment by imprisonment, and have adverted to the different effect it has on persons of different descriptions, I think, that the courts of justice ought to increase, or diminish the duration of it, according to circumstances, in the same way, that fines are levied in proportion to the ability of the offender.

In imprisonment, the duration ought to be regulated in the same way, and I would have the courts to consider, that the degrees may be divided thus:

1. An independent man, not married.

2. An independent man, that is married.

3. A person not independent, but who can earn his bread in prison, not married.

4. The same married.

5. A person who cannot labour in prison, and is not married.

6. The same married.

Such circumstances ought to be taken into consideration; and let it not be thought that it is an exertion of mercy, to let the poor married man, of the sixth class, soon free, for it is an act of justice, and requisite for its due administration. The long detention of the independent man, is, on the same principle, not rigour, but justice also.

To return, however, to the immediate object of this letter, the law of libels; it has, so far as individuals are concerned, been rendered tolerably severe, and, perhaps, requires little alteration; but with regard to libels on the government, or on public men, there are several circumstances that render the case materially different.

First, the juries (such as they generally are) cannot so well judge of a libel on the government, as on an individual character; in the second place, public favour is never obtained by individual calumny, but by abuse on government, or public men it is; so, that (for a great many reasons) the authors of libels on government, or on public men, ought to be severely punished by the sentence, as they feel a sort of indemnity in public opinion, for any sufferance to which they may be subjected.

MANSFIELD.

Shades, March 1, 1808.

COMMERCE WITH INDIA.

Continued from page 244.

Though new discoveries have robbed Egypt and Syria for ever of the commerce of the East; and though the loss of trade was the proximate cause of degradation, yet both countries had long been desolate and degraded before this change happened; and though this commerce came through those countries, the riches it produced centered in Italy. Syria had long become a desart, and the ruined palaces were become the habitations of scorpions, reptiles, and beasts of prey, long before those discoveries, which seemed to have sealed their doom.—That discovery only completed what had long been begun, and rendered permanent and irrevocable, what might otherwise have been altered.

What Dr. Robertson says of Palmyra, may be applied to nearly all the cities in Asia and Africa, that shared in this commerce. "Palmyra, after the conquest by Aurelian, never revived." At present, a few miserable huts of beggarly Arabs, are scattered in the courts of its stately temples, or deform its elegant porticoes, and exhibit a humiliating contrast to its ancient magnificence.

At the rate at which this trade now goes on to increase, all the gold and silver mines in the West, will soon be insufficient to afford enough of the precious metals to pay for produce from that country: for few European manufactures are taken in return. This is laying a foundation for a great revolution, either in manners or in nations, at some future day.

It is extraordinary that, from the earliest ages, the inhabitants of India have been receiving gold and silver from all other countries, and yet, that those metals are not so abundant there as with European nations. As our demand for the produce of the mines increases, (in order to send remittances in specie to that country,) the mines themselves diminish in their produce, so that whatever change this may bring on, can be at no very great distance.

If the taste of the Anglo Americans for

tea continues; allowing one pound for each person in the year, which is very little, one hundred millions of pounds weight will be annually wanted in less than half a century.

The trade with India, which had been almost the only one, and always an occasion of envy and contest, was sought for by the Spaniards and the Portuguese; who, as we have seen, were the first amongst modern nations that seemed to aspire to at naval discovery. The manner in which Spain discovered America, and Portugal the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, (both nearly at the same period, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century,) are too well known to require the smallest detail.

Europeans, with the superior degree of knowledge they possessed, and particularly that of the use of fire arms, incited also by the love of gold, and careless of keeping their word with the unsuspecting natives, soon triumphed wherever they went; and the consequence was, that both nations brought home immense riches. The trade of Venice, Alexandria, and Aleppo, were all transferred to Lisbon, and never was so small a country so suddenly enriched; and it may be added, more quickly deprived afterwards of the chief source of its wealth.

Lisbon had its depot for the north of Europe, at Antwerp, and the value of consignments have been estimated at a million of crowns annually; but this is, probably, an exaggeration.

The Dutch had triumphed over the power of Spain, on their own soil, and they soon rivalled that of Portugal in the east. It was a very different thing to combat the natives, and to fight with the Dutch, who quickly deprived Portugal of the rich mine of wealth she had discovered in India.

The prosperity of Portugal, arising from its possessions in the east, continued at its height nearly a century. Its decline is accounted for by the following causes:

Its domineering principles; too great an extent of conquests, (which were widely scattered,) and the haughtiness of the Portuguese, both towards the natives and Europeans; the envy and rivalship which brought the Dutch into the same countries; a great want of attention and energy; and, lastly, giving a preference to the trade to the Brazils. The Brazils had been first discovered by the Portuguese, afterwards seized upon by the Dutch, whom they, however, expelled about the middle of the sixteenth century; that is, (about fifty years after its first discovery,) and an equal period of time previous to the decline of their trade in India.

The possession of the whole of this lucrative trade, that had enriched so many great nations, by this easy channel, and without almost any contest, for nearly a whole century, belonged to, and so enriched the small kingdom of Portugal, that after being too eager, and grasping at too much, it was almost ready to resign the whole, without a struggle, had it not been for some reasons of another sort.

It was debated in council, at Lisbon, whether it would be worth while to keep India; the wealth from the Brazils, was so much more easily obtained. A scruple of conscience, least the missionaries should be destroyed, turned the scale in favour of retaining the trade of India.

So immense was the influx of wealth, from the united sources of India and the Brazils, that the former, which has been at every other period the object of ambition of all nations, and is so still, was considered as scarcely worth retaining!!

It is almost unnecessary to add, that from that moment Portugal has been on the decline. If ever the cup of prosperity ran over, in large streams, it was then; and

when the possession of the trade to India was scarcely thought worth preserving, it is clear, that no great efforts could be made to encourage internal industry.

Spain, extensive and powerful before it discovered the Indies, did not immediately feel the effects of the wealth imported, as the Portuguese had done; but its prosperity was of less duration, though the decline was not quite so rapid.

The Dutch must have known the effects of wealth on a nation, else they would scarcely have tried to throw off the yoke of Spain, at the very moment when it appeared in its greatest splendour and power.

Though the Dutch were subject to Spain, yet that had not prevented them from acting in an independent manner, in their modes of following trade and commerce.

Insolence and pride, we have often had occasion to remark, accompany wealth; and Philip was no more proof against its effects, than those potentates who had gone before him. There was a great resemblance between the project of invading England, with the invincible armada, (as it was called,) and the attack on Greece by the king of Persia. That monarch must have thought very meanly of England, to suppose that the island could be conquered by 30,000 men, even if they could have made good their landing. Indeed, to try such an experiment on a nation that had supported its claim to valour so well at Agincourt and Cressy, and which was not, in any respect, degenerated, manifests his being blinded by the effects of wealth and greatness.

The consequence was, a gradual decline of the affairs of his kingdom; so that, in little less than a century, England placed a king on the throne of Spain.

Though the effect produced on Spain was not so rapid as on Portugal, it was, in some respects, more irretrievable. The vast number of persons who quitted that country, in quest of gold, injured its population, already reduced by the expulsion of the Moors, who were the most industrious of its inhabitants.

The wealth that came to Spain, came in a very unequal distribution, which is a considerable disadvantage, and hastens on that state of things which is the natural forerunner of the decay of a nation. Wealth, arising by commerce, however great its quantity, must be distributed with some degree of equality; but the great adventurers in the gold mines only shared with their sovereign, and the whole of their wealth came in prodigious quantities pouring in upon the country.

We see an example of this in our trade to India. Captains of ships, merchants, and all those who get money by that trade, come home with moderate fortunes; but the governors, and civil and military officers, who have been settled in that country, come home with princely fortunes, and eclipse the old nobility of the country.

Both Spain and Portugal, finding that wealth came with such ease from India and America, neglected industry. This, indeed, was a very natural consequence; and, when the sources of their riches began to dry up, they found, though too late, that instead of having increased in wealth, they had only been enriching more industrious nations, and ruining themselves.

The gold that arrives from the West, passes through the hands of its masters, with almost the same rapidity as if they were only agents for the English and the Dutch; so chimerical an idea is that of wealth existing without industry.

The Dutch were the only rivals of the Portuguese in the East Indies; for though other nations came afterwards in for a share, yet the transition from wealth to weakness was already made by the Portuguese, before any of them had begun to set seriously to work, in acquiring pos-

sessions, or in carrying on trade with that country.

Portugal thus fell, merely from the rivalship of a more industrious and less advanced nation, after having embraced more territory than she had power to keep. Spain fell, because she had embraced a wrong object as a source of riches.

So short a time did the wealth remain in the country, that, when the famous armada was fitted out against England, a loan of money was solicited, from Genoa, for the purpose.

The Hans Towns, which owed their prosperity, partly to their own wisdom and perseverance, in the beginning, and partly to the contempt with which sovereigns, in the days of chivalry, viewed commerce, might, with very little penetration, and much less exertion of wisdom than they had displayed, have seen that the spirit of commerce was becoming general, and that moderation and prudence was necessary to preserve them in their situation; but the prudence which they possessed at first, had given way to pride, and abandoned them; and the first great stroke they received was from Queen Elizabeth. The ruin so widely extended, to the confederacy could not be astonishing, and, indeed, was a natural consequence of the changes in the manners of the times; but it was not so with Flanders. There was nothing to have prevented the Flemish from continuing to enjoy wealth, and follow up industry, except the rivalship of other nations, particularly of Holland and England; for, though France was farther advanced, as a manufacturing and wealthy nation, than England, yet it was not in the same line of industry with the people of the Netherlands, whose prosperity was not therefore injured by it in the same degree.

As for the Dutch, they continued to increase in wealth till the end of the seventeenth century, and their decline requires a more particular attention.

In addition to their great industry, the fisheries, and art of curing fish, the Dutch excelled in making machines of various sorts, and became the nation that supplied others with materials, in a state ready prepared for manufacturing; this was a new branch of business, and very lucrative, for, as the machines were kept a secret, the abbreviation of labour was great, and the materials had still the advantage in their sale, that a raw material has over manufactured goods; so that the advantages were almost beyond example.

Add to all this, that the Dutch were the first who established the banking system, (copying in part from the Italians,) on a solid plan. The advantages that Holland enjoyed were, indeed, all of its own procuring, but they were numerous and inappretiable, without counting the trade to India, of which it enjoyed a greater share than any other nation, for a considerable period.

No nation has shewn, so completely as the Dutch, how exterior enemies may be repelled, and difficulties overcome, while their is a true attention to the real welfare of the country. The exertions of the Romans, to conquer others, scarcely surpassed those of the Dutch to preserve themselves, when they were in a state of necessity; but, when they became affluent, energy and unanimity left them. The manufacturers became merchants, and the merchants became agents and carriers: so that the solid sources of riches gradually disappeared.

All this time, taxation increased, and though no nation ever allowed its manners to be less corrupted by the possession of wealth, yet there was a sensible change; but the change, in the way of thinking, was the most pernicious. Discontent with the government, and disagreements amongst themselves, completed their misfortunes; while England was, all the time, endeavouring to supplant them in the most beneficial sources of their wealth.

The Dutch fairly sunk by that rivalship, and natural change of things, which transfers the seat of wealth and commerce from one nation to another. There was no violent revolution, no invasion by an enemy; it was the silent operation of that cause of decline, which has been already mentioned in the second chapter, and will be farther and more particularly illustrated and explained.

BONAPARTE's POLITICS.

Continued from Page 254.

In treating of this subject, to which we are always obliged to return, we must advert to every side of the question; and, indeed, it is useless to speak of Bonaparte merely as a man who keeps Europe in a state of trouble, for the great cause of the present changes is independent of any man whatever, and in this light the subject must be viewed.

Since the history of the world commenced, we have always found that changes in manners and ways of thinking, prepared the way for changes in political arrangements.

In the first ages, war was an occasional occurrence, and the troops (or soldiers) engaged, were a species of militia; that is, they were men brought up to warlike habits, by way of preparation for war, but only engaged occasionally in actual hostility.

The Romans were the first, who making war their constant occupation, had regular armies constantly in action; and accordingly they triumphed over all the nations whom they attacked, or by whom they were assailed. The consequence of this was, that they conquered the world. That is, the whole of the nations with which they came into contact.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, in the fourth century of the Christian Æra, the feudal system began, and then the armies, consisting of the vassals of the great, were, as they had been in early times, only a sort of militias.

It is only about two centuries and a half since the French established standing armies, and by that means became so formidable; that other nations, having only militia to oppose, found it a matter of absolute necessity, for self-defence, to establish regular standing armies in the same way.

We mention this to shew that when one nation adopts a new and more formidable mode of acting than others, they must either adopt the same method, or be overcome.

The French revolution was established on the principle of substituting personal abilities and talents, for that sort of power and preponderance, which had till then been possessed by men of property, of hereditary rank, or of connection.

This, like the establishment of standing armies, was a fundamental and great change in the order of things, and, like to them, will compel other nations either to yield, or to adopt the same plan,

Though that wild sort of equality and struggle, that prevailed at the beginning of the French revolution, has been terminated several years ago, yet still the energy of the French nation is owing to the same principle, and arises from the same cause.

Though Bonaparte has restored monarchy in its utmost splendour, and is possessed of unbounded power, yet still he adheres most rigidly to the plan of encouraging and employing talents and energy, in opposition to rank, wealth, or connection.

To speak precisely the strict truth of the revolution, it has founded itself on a great change in the way of governing mankind—a change greater than that which took place when standing armies and regular troops were substituted for irregular and temporary

levies of men; and the country that adopts that energetic plan of government, if it continues to persist, must either subdue all other governments, or compel them to adopt the same degree of energy, in short, to adopt the same plan.

What the first revolutionists established with impetuosity, and in a manner that did not promise durability, Bonaparte has laboured to reduce to system, to controul, to correct, and to render durable and permanent.

The abilities of individuals, exerted as they thought proper, overturned the French monarchy, to which confusion and anarchy succeeded; and still they went on, till they had disturbed the peace of every nation in Europe, and by degrees got more able generals and diplomatic agents than any other state with which they had to contend, either in war or political intrigue.

It was in this state of matters that Bonaparte (one of the ablest of those energetic men whom the revolution had brought forward,) placed himself at the head of affairs; and since then he seems to have laboured incessantly to do away the energies of the people, and to confine energy entirely to the army, and the agents of government. For this purpose, his plan is perfectly complete. The whole youth of the country are put in requisition for the army, and those least fitted for making good soldiers are first discharged. Amongst those who remain, some procure promotion. The common soldiers chuse their subalterns, according to their abilities, and the higher officers are, for the most part, selected from amongst them. By these means, every man exerts himself as much as he is able; and the men of the greatest efficient talents are at the head of affairs; that is saying, in a few words, that every thing that human abilities and energy can do, is done; for every thing is called into action that can promote success.

It is by this means that we see men who were, in early life, stable boys, errand runners, or waiters of the lowest order, ruling over the sovereigns of the Continent.

By a man, from such a situation, is the throne of Spain now filled, and to such a man do the proud grandees bow and do homage. Alexander, emperor of all the Russias, is bearded in his own capital by another of the same class; and but for Sweden and England, there would be no exception.

The progress and success of this new system is so complete, and so uniform, that there can be no doubt as to its continuance, until other nations shall, by necessity or circumstances, adopt the same plan; till then, there does not appear to be any hope that the power of France can effectually be resisted.

It may, perhaps, in course of time come, that the French government will degenerate; but this wil be a long process, though it is not an improbable one. As to thinking of a counter revolution, that is absurd; it is to suppose that men of talents and energy, with power in their hands, will be dispossessed by men of no talents, and no energy; or that they will quietly and willingly give up their pretensions, and their preponderance in the state. Neither are possible, and therefore nothing is more absurd than hoping to see the ancient system restored.

The descendants of the Duc de Berg, the Duke of Dantzic, and the new made nobility, will, (there is no doubt,) become, in time, what were the decendants of, the Montmorency's, and other great men of former times; but, supposing this to take place, centuries must elapse, before the number is sufficient to engross the wealth and power of the nation, even on the calculation that, as the hereditary nobility obtain power, those who rise from nothing, shall find their efforts counteracted, and their success diminished.

This is a natural and possible manner, by which France, in a long succession of years, may return to its ancient state; but even if it should do so, the period is too distant to have any effect on our present manner of acting.

There is, however, some reason for thinking, that France may never relapse into that state; for, as the army is the master of every thing, if it preserves the same organization, the former system never can be restored; and it is difficult to conceive how the army will ever voluntarily abandon a plan so much in its favour, and so congenial to the feelings, wishes, and interests of the majority.

Considering the politics of Bonaparte, as regards the internal government of the country, and his means to triumph over his enemies, it is impossible not to give them praise. As to the use to which he applies the means in his power, that is as abominable, as the means are admirable; we have, therefore, every inducement to endeavour to deprive him of a superiority, which he has so decided a disposition to employ for the destruction of mankind.

The talents encouraged in France, are curiously selected:—If in either of the assemblies, a man arises, who has more merit than the rest, he is immediately taken into employment, and must either leave the assembly, or become the leader and guide of the rest; so that the greater number are merely passive instruments. They dare not even think, or speak, contrary to the will of the emperor, much less dare they act.

It is possible that, at some future day, those assemblies may change in this respect; and if they espouse the cause of the people, against the military, they may produce strange alterations. In our English revolution, we saw the parliament was at first every thing, and raised an army. The army then became all powerful, and ruled the parliament; but when Cromwell died, the parliament and the people joined, and the army, that was then under the command of Monk, found it convenient to become subservient to the general will, and this produced the restoration.

In our next, we shall, however shew, that the English revolution was never systimatically founded upon a plan of rendering talents and energy superior to rank; neither had it been practically adopted; for the old nobility, were neither plundered, nor exiled, nor degraded; so that they only waited till the effervescence was over. In France, there are no nobility to wait; besides there are a great variety of circumstances, that render the French formidable, and there power dangerous that did not operate so with regard to England, though it is well known then, that England was never more feared or respected, than during the protectorship of Oliver; and it is very probable, that if hostilities with other nations had been his ruling passions, he might have been a very formidable chief like Bonaparte.

The greatest hope of Europe, arises from the ambition of Bonaparte, which knows no bounds, and therefore exposes him to continual risques, that may some day prove fatal to himself, this indeed, is the only chance that Europe has, for immediate or near relief; but it is very difficult, to form any estimate of the value of this chance: for though he and his armies seem frequently in danger, yet, by superior energy, abilities, and address, they always extricate themselves, in a manner that crowns them with success and victory.

Such are the effects of a system of energy, and rewarding efficient abilities.

[*To be continued.*]

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

THOUGH there is, no doubt, a great disposition in Spain to resist France, and though we have a great disposition to hope

that they will do it effectually; yet, when we coolly, and considerately reflect on all circumstances, we are persuaded that they will not succeed.

The French have got a secure footing in the country, and we knew their superiority in intrigue, in energy, and in every means; either valourous, or villainous, of preserving their situation. On the other hand, next to those of Turkey, the Spanish people are the most degraded. What then have we to expect?

Appearances and reports, it may be said, look well for the Spaniards; but, how do we come by those appearances and those reports? Are they real and true? This is much indeed to be doubted, for we only know the matter in that light, that the Spaniards themselves wish us to view it in, as we have no connection or correspondence with their enemies.

The more we consider this affair, the more we are convinced, that Bonaparte has dethroned the king, for the very purpose of seducing England, to send forces and take part in the hostilities, and we are led to it by the following reasons:

Spain was totally subservient to Bonaparte, and when in the hands of its legitimate sovereign, was worth more, (greatly more) to him, then it will be in a state of confusion, and when the possessions in South America are very likely to be lost.

Again, let us consider, that the rapidity with which Bonaparte executed the project, was by no means necessary, (merely, as regarding Spain;) it is therefore, probable, he had some more distant view, some secondary object, that could best be obtained by speed.

What might this object be?—To get England to assist Spain, it was necessary, that the revolution then should be violent and quick. Violent, that we may think, our aid and assistance would be accepted and quick, that we might not have time to be properly informed as to its efficiency.

Surely the experience of the past, might teach Britain wisdom. After failing in co-operation with the most powerful nations of the Continent, when they were unsubdued, and acted under a regular authority, are we to expect to succeed in assisting Spain, the weakest of all, when deprived of all the advantages the others enjoyed. Its strong places, already garisoned by French troops, its people disarmed, and the government of the country legally transferred to one of Bonaparte's lieutenant? If we hope to succeed in this attempt, it is indeed a very wild expectation, and we wish we could induce ministers, to view the matter with great coolness and attention, before they allow their attention to be diverted to that point, where it will be, of all others, the least useful.

We must allow that the situation of the Spaniards is cruel in the extreme; but can we remedy that? And if we make the attempt, and do not succeed, shall we not make it worse? We certainly shall; and, which ever way the matter terminates, Britain will be considered as speculating for her own advantage, at the expence and risque of Spain.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS.

THE national business now draws to a close. Little has been done of essential business, and that little, has been done always in haste, thanks to the opposition, for their daily supply of business, which occupied ministers on things no way essential, and many of them, such as never should have been agitated.

It is wonderful, during so important a period, and when objects of such consequence required discussion, how little interest was excited in the nation. We can

remember, when a very trifling affair would have caused more sensation, than all the discussions that have taken place in parliament, during the present session. We are not certain, what may be the cause of this great change, but we are not without conjectures on the subject, though they are of a sort, to which we do not wish to give publicity.

Besides the number of useless questions that have been brought on, and the number of important ones, that have been passed rapidly over, there are many that the present times suggest, which would tend greatly to attach the people to the government; we shall suggest a few of these in our next, and wish that all parties would join, in considering, that the interest of the country require efforts, and that they should be once for all fully persuaded, that unless they will consider those as paramount to every other thing, there is a very great, and a very dangerous crisis to be expected.

Why are we not informed of what good we my in future expect. Is not hope one of the main supports of life? and, when by the la bours of the immortal Pitt, the sinking fund attains the grand point of equalling our expenditure, why is that great event announced in a half wisper, and in a few words scarcely heard, and almost unnoticed? That day ought to have been held sacred. It ought to have been a day of jubilee; for ever since the funding system begun, in the time of King William, it was the first, wherein our resources equalled our expences in the time of war!! Is this a circumstance to be hastily, or slightly passed over. If we are to be eternally tormented with complaints of expences, and increasing taxation, let us, at least, have the consolation of paying a litlle attention to those circumstances that are calculated to produce comfort, and to feed hope.

COMMERCIAL AGENTS ABROAD.

Continued from page 197.

We some time ago mentioned, that government was very remiss in the appointment of commercial agents, and that they were not put in the situation that they ought to be, in order to enable and induce them to do what is necessary for the commercial interests of their country.

We hope this subject will be immediately considered, and that men of abilities will be chosen, and that they will be empowered and encouraged to do what is necessary.

We cannot think on this subject, without involuntarily and naturally, as it were, having in our eye Mr. Oddy; who has written so well on commerce, and who, by his residence abroad, is so well qualified to do his country a service.

Whether any offer that government could make would suit him to accept, we are totally ignorant, but we recommend an attempt; for if he has made himself so well master of the intricate subject, without any official support; if, as a volunteer, he has been so zealous in the cause, what might not be expected, if he were backed by authority and supported by money. What is to be done, ought to be done speedily, for time never flies faster, than when adversity and misfortuue approach the door; and that they approach this country, unless we can turn them aside, is as clear as any event can be, that is still in the reach of futurity: *our trade flies from us*, as the Thames did from Macbeth. It is time *to skirr the country round*, and look at danger.

SOLVENCY OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

Sir,

I am sorry that our ministers do not take the trouble to give the nation that encouragement it deserves, nor to counteract the

inflammatory speeches of those men whose aim is to sow discontent. The circumstance that the nation pays off as much by the sinking fund, as it borrows, is one that is fraught with consolation, and it should be noticed in a manner worthy such an event. We celebrate birth-days, and anniversaries of elections, and yet we leave without notice, the most material event of the present day, and one of the most happy nature and complexion.

Ever since 1690, that is, 118 years, we have been habitually contracting debt, the nation has groaned under it, and the interest amounts, at this day, to ten times the amount of our whole revenue when that practice began.

It is now twenty-three years since Mr. Pitt established a sinking fund, which has put a stop to that ruinous career; yet we take no more notice of it than if it was the most ordinary event.

Amongst no set of men has it made any impression.—Amongst people of fashion, a story of crim. con. would make fifty times the noise.—Mother Goose, Gulley and Gregson, or the overturning of a mail-coach, would occupy the promiscuous public more; and politicians think more of Lord Lake's pension, or the pulling down a few houses to beautify Westminster.

Who is to blame?—Ministers to be sure; it is their business to emblazon the circumstance, and encourage hope—hope, the great engine of our enemies, is untried in this country.

A friendly hint
From an admirer of
WILLIAM PITT.

To COMMERCIAL MEN AT LLOYD'S.

LEAST you should not know, as we are told you will not, who is meant by the general term of commercial men, we now address you at Lloyd's, supposing that, as the observer tell us, you will understand it.

The commerce of Britain has been fostered with immence trouble, and cannot be preserved but with a proportionate degree of care, even in ordinary times, but in the present, when all the old channels are nearly shut up, the exertion to preserve it must be doubly great.

All over Europe there was a sort of double diplomacy before the revolution. Mr. Burke describes the effect of that well, in his first letter on a regicide peace; but, though the doubleness of the agency gave a new energy and interest, and might have done good, it was productive of much evil, for it was founded on a factious opposition to government. It was the agents of the outs counteracting the agents of the people in power, and, so far, weakened the influence and credit of the nation.

We had a small specimen of this at home, when Mr. Fox ventured to send out Mr. Adair to St. Petersburgh.

The origin of this double diplomacy was founded on the weakness of the regular ambassadors, who attended more to the honours and emoluments of their official situation, than to the duties attached to it, for had the ambassadors possessed either zeal or energy, those their duplicates would have been sent back in chains, to pay, with their lives, their opposition to their sovereign.

It is a double commercial agency that we recommend, founded upon the same cause, namely, the want of zeal and energy in the regular agents, but in other respects, in principle and effect totally different.

We mean commercial agents sent out by commercial men, to second, to assist, and, at the same time, to watch over the regular agents. Their power of watching would only extend to say what passed, and giving information both of what was to be done, and of what was neglected to be done; as to their power of aiding, that would be great, in proportion to opportunity, to their ac-

tivity, and intelligence; but, as in all cases, the commercial agent would be to co-operate with the regular government agent, the effect produced could not be otherwise than advantageous.

The East Indies, the West Indies, South America, North America, (consisting of the United Sttaes and Canada,) together with Persia, several parts of Africa, and still some communicaion with Europe remain to us, and we, should see what means are the best for increasing our trade with all those countries, at the same time that we should endeavour to raise in our own, such articles as we used to have from abroad; but, which we can no longer procure, either in sufficient quantity or at a reasonable price.

One of the causes, of the rapid decline of mercantile countries, is, that the principle of a merchant necessarily, is to employ his money to the best purposes, without any collateral consideration. Thus, for example, if a merchant can get linen in Silesia, at a more reasonable rate, than in Ireland, he will purchase in Silesia, and let the weavers of Ireland starve if they will, thereby employing British capital amongst strangers, and refusing it to the people of his own country.

We do not blame this, because to buy at the best market, is an essential principle of mercantile enterprise; butthen it leads to very serious reflection, for, as capital will find employment some where, if we do not employ it here, it will leave us, and go where it can be employed.

If we will not cultivate waste lands, and grow flax and hemp, and augment our fisheries, our money will go to cultivate lands in America. The Dutch are the last example of a mercantile nation, employing its capital in other countries, when it could no longer find employment for it at home.

In our next, we shall shew by what means capital leaves a country, and we do most earnestly desire the mercantile interest to consider that it is just on the eve of leaving this, unless new employment be discovered for it.

The immense loans of government, have hitherto absorbed a great accumulation of capital; a trade continually extending has done the same; but now, our debt is about stationary, now we pay off as much as we borrow, and now our commerce is on the decline, and requires less capital, Under those circumstances, something must instantly be done, else we shall find our funds going over to cultivate the fields of North America.

This will be one of the permanent losses that will arise, even from a momentary stagnation of trade.

To come directly to the point, let the merchants assemble and form a committee—Let them offer rewards to those who will suggest the best modes of extending commerce, and let them subscribe money, and employ agents, necessary for the purpose, under their inspection.

LANDED INTEREST.

WHILST the landed interests of the country is so much alarmed at the substituting 300,000 worth of sugar and molasses, for an equal value of grain, in the distilleries. We are surprised that they do not take a more enlarged, a more liberal, and a more patriotic view of their OWN AFFAIRS.

The present interruption of commerce with Russia affords an opportunity that may never return, of encouraging the growth of hemp and flax in this country, to a greater amount than the value of her sugar, to be substituted for grain.

We could say much on this subject, but it has been so ably treated by Mr. ODDY, in his book on European commerce, that we refer to that work, observing, that it is,

in every shape and form, the interest and duty of members of parliament to attend to the subject in a serious manner.

When we (says Mr. Oddy) come to calculate the small quantity of land which will give so great a benefit, as to produce the quantity of hemp and flax we import, it is quite astonishing it has not been carried into effect; for reckoning the quantity each acre will produce, on the most moderate calculation, at five hundred weight to an acre, then 112,000 acres will produce 28,000 tons of flax, and 160,000 acres will produce 40,000 tons of hemp, being together 272,000 acres. The three kingdoms contain about seventy-four millions of acres, and if the existing acts of Henry and Elizabeth were put in force, or rather extended, that is, two roods for every sixty acres of arable and pasture land, and allowing only half the quantity of land in the three kingdoms to be susceptible of such cultivation, it would make 300,000 acres, which, in the change of crops, would be nothing to the aggregate quantity of land to raise flax or hemp, without in the least interfering with the production of grain.

The national advantage by producing instead of importing, reckoned upon the lowest scale of value would be thus :—

	Tons.	£	£
Raw flax for spinning and manufacturing	20,000	at 65 is	1,300,000
Spun into yarn imported, the labour of course lost	4,000	at 65 is	260,000
In the weight of linens imported, reckoned as the raw material	4,000	at 65 is	260,000
Hemp, including cordage and manufacures of this article....	40,000	at 40 is	1,600,000
	68,000		
Linseed the flax would produce	336,000 qrs.	at 40s.	672,000
Hempseed the hemp would produce.....	400,000 qrs.	at 20s.	400,000
			£ 4,492,000

A small part of this sum annually appropriated to bring the waste lands into cultivation, would not only produce us grain to supply ourselves, but hemp and flax too."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The case of Mr. Ludlam, and letter to Dr. Monroe, are both suspended till next week, when both shall appear at once; but there are a few circumstances we wish to know, to make every thing quite complete. It is perfectly evident that there are some persons who are uncommonly active, and anxious to prove that he is unwell. Now why this anxiety? Why thi activity?—No answer can be given, that does not make one tremble with horror.—To speculate on the misery of another seems too horrible; but "let the stricken deer go weep." We shall certainly bring the whole before the public, and the justice and humanity of a British public are known.

The letter about the Manchester Weavers did not require insertion, as we have given a long paper on that subject.

We had not room for the letter on pawnbrokers; but it shall appear next week.

In our next, we shall resume the subject of the high price of provisions.

Several correspondents have wished us to enter into theatrical criticism, and to embrace a variety of subjects foreign to our plan. We thank them, fo far as it shews that they approve of our work; but we must adhere to our plan, whether we succeed or fail.

Printed by W. *Glindon, Rupert-street, Haymarket and published for the Proprietors, 24, Porter-street, Long-Acre,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N°. 15.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors, 24, Porter-Street, Long Acre

SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS	INTERIOR	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

SINKING FUND.

As the time is now arrived when the Sinking Fund liquidates as much debt within the year as we borrow, our debt may be termed stationary, which is a fine prospect for the nation.

If we lay on new taxes, and persist in letting the fund accumulate, our debt will be decreasing, but that unless it is a very desirable thing, ought not to be sought, at the expence of the present burthens of the country.

It is then highly important to inquire into the advantage to be expected from this reimbursement. Our opinion is, that so far from being an advantage, it will be a *loss*. It will be a creation of real capital from what it is at present, only an imaginary one; and as it will not find employment in this country, it will leave us for America, or some other country where it can be employed.

As the increase of capital in every country is the consequence of former productive industry, so also is it the support of future exertion.

When the capital of a country has become sufficient for all the employment that can be procured for it, the first effect is lowering of interest, which sinks down under the rate appointed by law, and under the

rate at which it is lent out at in other countries.

When capital is not in sufficient quantity, those who want to borrow are more numerous than those who have money to lend; then the competition is amongst the borrowers to obtain the preference, and they all give as high an interest as the law allows, and would give more if they could avoid the penalty, which, in all countries, has been attached to accepting more than the regulated sum: a sum regulated merely to prevent the effect of competition, which might induce people to give more than in the end they would find they could afford to pay.

When capital becomes over abundant, the very reverse takes place; the lenders become rivals, and offer to lend at an under rate of interest.

The first effect of this is, that people who were but scantily prepared with capital before, borrow, and carry on business more at ease, so that more capital is employed in business, and new employments are found out for capital.

The usual employments for a superabundant capital are improving lands, building houses, erecting machines, digging canals, &c. for the use of trade; and finally, giving longer credit to merchants in other countries, as well as to those who are running in debt in their own. The stock on hand in manufactured goods increases something also. But when all these have taken place, to as great an extent as wanted, then the money begins to flow into other countries. By degrees, more money is sent away than should go, and the persons who are the proprietors of it frequently follow.

If the capital that leaves a country were only that which cannot find employment in it, the harm would not be great, though it would tend to enrich other countries, and bring them nearer a level. But that is not the case, the advantage of lending money abroad, if regularly paid at a higher interest than can be obtained at home, induces people to draw their money from trade, and vest it in the hands of foreigners. The Venetians, the Genoese, the Hanseatic Towns, and the cities of Flanders, did this; and the capital, which, when employed at home, formerly maintained perhaps on hundred people in affluence and industry, only supported one single family living in indolence and splendid penury.

After being in possession of money for a considerable time, men prefer a certain employment, at a low interest, to one attended with risk, even where the interest is higher; and when great sums have been got by trade, those who have got them retire and live on the interest, which men, who have only gained a small capital cannot do.

The Dutch, for the last century, employed their capital in this manner, and, at one time, were the chief carriers, for they secured custom by paying readily and giving credit largely. They ruined many of their own manufactures in this manner, but it is impossible to separate the calculation of gain, from the mercantile system, and mercantile practice in individuals; therefore it is no reproach to their patriotism, for patriotism cannot be the rule in purchasing goods from an individual. A merchant can have no other rule, but his own advantage, or, if he has, he will soon be ruined.

There are many manufactures in England that originally rose by means of Dutch capital, not lent capital, but by ready money paid for goods, which were carried to other nations, and sold here upon credit.

The English have, for a long time, been able to do this piece of business for themselves; and, of course, the Dutch did not find the same means of supporting their carrying trade; and as they had ruined many of their own manufactures, they sunk both as a commercial and manufacturing people.

If the time should ever come that capital

should be so abundant in all nations, as that obtaining credit will not be an object, then it will be seen, that no nation will have so very great a share of manufactures and commerce more than others, as has hitherto been the case.

In the case of taxes being taken off to a great amount would be a new one of sudden and hurtful operation. Wages of labour would be diminished, as well as the burthens on those who live on settled income; it would, therefore, render people of fixed income more affluent, without giving ease to those who want it; in short, as the augmentation of taxes falls most on people with fixed incomes, so the advantages of this would principally be felt by them; and, as the baneful operation carries a sort of counteracting antidote with it, so likewise this beneficial operation would be attended with some drawback and inconveniency.

The diminution of taxes, though the ultimate is not, however, the immediate consequence of the operation of the Sinking Fund, the efficacy of which depends on the taxes being kept up to their full extent, for a considerable time. The first effect of the fund is, that a large sum, annually expended, as revenue drawn from the subject, is reimbursed to the stockholders, and becomes capital.

This would immediately raise the funds, and thereby would counteract the sinking fund itself in a very material degree. Money would become abundant for all the purposes of trade, and it would be difficult to find employment for it; and, if the progress continued, part of it would most undoubtedly be sent to other countries, and so be the means of impoverishing this.

If, then, we could suppose fifty years of peace, and that the national debt could be paid off, (as it might be in that time,) the situation of productive labourers would be worse; of unproductive, better; and, finally, capital would leave the country, which would be deprived of that transferable stock, the benificial effects of which are very great.

The necessity that creates industry would be diminished, so that nothing could tend more effectually to bring on the decline of the nation than if all the debt were to be paid off; an operation which, though possible in calculation, never certainly would take place; the evils attending it would be so manifest, so clear, and so palpably felt before that was accomplished.

To let the national debt continue to increase is, then certain ruin, at some period unknown, but, perhaps, not very distant; to pay it off would be equally dangerous: what then are we to do?

Allowing all the credit possible to the sinking fund, (and a great deal is due,) still during war its operation is a sort of paradox; it does not obtain belief: it is liable to be questioned; but we are come to a point, where the stability of our finances ought to be put out of doubt, and beyond all question. The mode of settling our affairs, ought not only to be such as in the end may succeed, but its efficacy and practicability, ought to be such as our enemies can understand and give credit to. Without this, we shall have no end to the contest.

With respect to what our enemies will give credit to, a good deal depends on their own natural disposition. A fickle and arbitrary people, who are continually breaking their faith, can have little belief in the constancy of a sinking fund; but they will be perfectly well inclined to believe, that men of property may be compelled, and will even be glad to pay one per cent. a year, for ten years, to ensure the safety of that property. Supposing then that the Sinking Fund, were the better plan of the two in reality, it would not be so in the present circumstances, because it would not obtain credit, and the other will.

As to the rest, deprive the French of their hopes of ruining our finances, and they will make [peace on] reasonable terms,

whenever we please; their object for continuing the war will then be at an end; and, if they do continue it, we can go on as long as they can, without any addition to our burthens.

Whatever the cause of a war may be, the hope of success is the only possible motive for persisting in it. The French have been led into two errors: first, by the comparison of this country to Carthage, and of their own to Rome, (an absurd comparison that does not hold,) and, in the second place, by looking on our ruin, from the increase of our debt, as certain. We ought to undeceive them, and then they will have less inclination to persist in war. No pains have hitherto been taken to set them right; nor, indeed, with respect to the national debt, can it ever be done by the present method, till they see the effect; for though the progress of a Sinking Fund in peace is easily understood, in time of war there is much appearance of deception; it looks like slight of hand more than a real and solid transaction.

LETTERS
From Old Politicians
IN THE SHADES,
To Young Politicians
IN THE SUN-SHINE,
In the beginning of the Year 1808.

LETTER XXI.

FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD KENYON, IN THE SHADES—TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ELLENBOROUGH, IN THE SUN-SHINE.

MY LORD,

SINCE I have no longer been a judge, a great number of persons, who pretend to contradict from theory, what I know to be true from experience, have found fault with me for taking a decided part against monopolists, regrators and forestallers

Those pretended wise men, who call themselves philosophers, have treated me with very little ceremony, and if I were again on the bench, and they at the bar, the jurymen should have some employment; but now things are altered, I have now no authority, more than those old women, to whom they have resembled me. I must then, my Lord, partly in defence of myself, and partly with a view to strengthen you against the vile assertions of my enemies, set the matter in its true light, for the subject on which my memory has been attacked, is one of great importance; in short, it is nothing less than, whether monopoly of provisions is, or is not, a *possible* thing. If it is not, I am wrong, and have presided as chief justi[illegible]hen much injustice has been done; if I am right, then those persons, who treat my opinions with pretended contempt, are either guilty of deceit, or they are ignorant and presuming, to a very great degree.

An author in an inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, has treated monopoly as a chimera. He has compared the belief in its existence, to a belief in witchcraft, which I take to be equivalent to saying, that it is contrary to the common laws of nature, and that they are fools and ignorant who believe in it.

Notwithstanding this strong mode of expression, employed by a man of great knowledge and abilities*, I could not refuse my belief to the testimony of credible witnesses, who all agree, not on one, but on a great number of occasions in proving, the actual existence of monopoly in the trade of provisions.

You know, my Lord, that there is a certain sort of evidence which cannot be rejected. It forces itself on the mind, with as irresistible an impulse, as the ball of a

* Dr. Adam Smith.

cannon forces its way into a mound of loose earth.

Such evidence consists of the concurring testimony of men, unconnected with each other, confirmed by collateral, prior, and posterior circumstances. The mind of man must be overthrown, before it can resist such evidence, or refuse its belief.

It is to such sort of evidence that I ielded in cases of monopoly, and I have, on various occasions, expressed myself with the warmth of an honest man, rather than with the dignity of a judge. The heart had only, however, taken up the cause, after the head had determined its justice. It was not one of those cases, when the heart runs on without waiting for the conviction of the understanding; though I will allow, that I have sometimes, perhaps, expressed myself with a degree of asperity, that if it was not becoming in a judge, was at least not necessary.

A writer, who published notes and additions to "The Inquiry" I have mentioned, differs with it on several important points, and amongst others, on the subject of monopoly; and has mentioned my opinion, as adding some weight to the forcible arguments he himself produces; but this has brought severe observations, some of which are couched in the language of contempt; though it is true, that those conceited and pretended philosophers have not ventured to enter upon the argument. I therefore conclude, that they assume the tone of contempt, to exempt them from the necessity of endeavouring to do what they certainly would not be able to perform.

It has occurred to me, my Lord, that the best way of shewing in its true light, the absurdity of setting up theory in opposition to fact, will be by an hypothetical charge to the jury, proceeding upon the supposition that the theory of those philosophers is infallible, which it ought to be, to justify their conceit and impertinence.

I suppose, my Lord, that I have been hearing a long string of witnesses, who have concurred in proving that the crop of hops has been monopolized in England, and the price raised far above what it ought to have been, insomuch, that the growers of hops appeared in court, and declared they had received higher prices than they had asked, or expected. My supposed charge would then run thus:

"Gentlemen of the Jury,

"You have paid great attention, during a very tedious and careful examination of witnesses, from their general character and condition of life, entitled to every degree of credit, unconnected with each other, and in no manner interrested in the verdict that you may think it right to give.

"The number of witnesses is much greater than the law requires to establish any fact, whatever its nature might be, and circumstances, both antecedent and posterior, as well as those recorded at the time, confirm the testimony of the witnesses, if it wanted any sort of confirmation.

"In short, Gentlemen, we have proofs of monopoly, such as would be much more than sufficient in cases of life and death, or of the most serious crimes that could come before a court of justice; but, nevertheless, Gentlemen, it is my duty to inform you, that the very thing that all those witnesses, and those collateral circumstances concur in proving, nay, in putting beyond a shadow of doubt, is not *true*, it is *not possible*, and what is not possible, *never can be believed*.

"The theory of the political economists and philosophers has established it as a truth, that trade, not restrained by law or authority, always finds its level, and as a corollary or natural consequence, that monopoly is impossible, where the trade is left open, as it is so in this case.

"To make this matter more evident, they have proved that trade finds its level the

same as water, unless restrained by force. Now, gentlemen of the jury, if the witnesses that have appeared in court this day had all asserted, that at a certain mill-pool in Worcestershire, the water stood ten feet higher than on the other, without any division, dyke, or dam, would you believe them? I should think that you would not gentlemen. You would suppose that such a thing, being contrary to nature, was impossible, and therefore could not be. In that case, the credulity of the witnesses, though great, must give way; and you would ascribe the circumstance to some mistake, or some deception; in short, you could not believe the impossibility, neither could you doubt the honour and veracity of the witnesses. Now, gentlemen, the case is quite similar; there can be no doubt in respect to the credibility of the witnesses; but then, as to the fact of the monopoly, that, those who say they cannot err, tell us it is impossible; it is therefore my duty to instruct you to bring in a verdict in favour of the defendant, although the evidence against him is sufficient to establish any fact short of an impossibility."

Were a judge to be regulated by the theory of those economical gentlemen, such would have been his charge, at a certain trial that came before me; and on many other trials, the difference would not have been very considerable.

If, indeed, the foreman of the jury had risen up, instructed in the modern arts of reasoning, he might have said—

"Before my brother jurymen and myself come to a conclusion, we must be permitted to enquire a little into the impossibility of forestalling; or rather, into what you, my learned lord, were pleased to term the principle, which assures us, that trade finds its level, when not restrained by law or power, as water does, when left free to follow the laws of gravity; but, my Lord, I, for my own part, do not give the same belief to what theorists term moral impossibilities: they may, in some cases, be equally true, but they are not equally evident, nor are the operations of mind equally reducible to the same simple and certain rules that the operations of matter are.

"I grant, that, in trade, all the parties seek their own interest, to the best of their power; as bodies gravitate towards the centre of the earth, a fixed point, to which a perpendicular line leads. In matters of trade, men may mistake their interest, and may think that, by reversing the order of things, they may attain what they desire.

"I think it has been clearly proved this day, that the buyer offered more than the seller expected; and I am, therefore, compelled to believe that he did so, though I do not see in what manner he found it his interest, neither am I obliged to account for that, although I do most firmly believe that he was in search of that.

"It is not for me, and my brother jurymen, to enter into discussions, on subjects either of moral or natural philosophy, and perhaps they may not be inclined to agree with me in my distinctions; but I take it, that the difference lies in the uniformity of the efforts of natural causes, and the infinite variety of the efforts of moral propensities, on which the philosophers pretend to prove, that monopoly is impossible, when commerce is left free.

"I humbly think, however (without entering into the controversy,) that there is no impossibility of a man, in certain cases, though guided by his own interest, offering to pay more for an article then the seller wishes; for I suppose that the purchaser has already got a great quantity of an article, and thinks that, by raising the market price, upon a small quantity he intends to purchase, he may raise the price of the article, so as to gain a great deal, by what he already has got, and lose nothing, or but little on what he has to purchase; the common rule of buying and selling may be in-

verted, and the market raised; the purchaser may, on such an occasion, offer more han is demanded, and reverse the order of things. My Lord, I apprehend that the single word speculation, implies a possibility of this; it implies that the speculator, abandoning the usual order of sales and purchases, expects to obtain an advantage, by a combination, or artificial, though momentary state of things; and on this ground am I disposed to think that very possible, which your Lordship regards as impossible; and if my brother jurymen are of the same opinion, we shall give credit to the witnesses that have, with such consistency, given their evidence this day; not that half sort of credit of believing they think, they speak what they believe, and are in an error; but the full belief that they speak the truth, and labour under no error; but that the philosophers, whoever they may be, that think they can find out the mode of action, of men in every circumstance, have assumed a power that is far beyond their reach."

Now, my Lord, supposing I had given the charge in the way I here stated, and the foreman or any of the jury had made the foregoing reply, I think I should have been in a pitiable situation; and, therefore, it is my opinion, that those theories, by which a certain set of men wish to guide and direct the rest, are not infallible; and that the ruling fashion of thinking in the present times, for leaving trade entirely free, is in some respects dangerous.

I am no friend to establishing rules and restrictions, and supposing that legislative sagacity can regulate the affairs of commerce between man and man; but, then I would avoid the other extreme of laying it down as a principle, that it ought never to interfere, or that trade will always find its own level.

I think that this is a dangerous doctrine, at least when applied to the necessaries of life, and as, in my latter days, I studied the writer who advanced this dangerous doctrine I think I discovered whence the mistake (for such I am certain it is) arose.

When the fatigues of a long life of business were over, I looked into the theories of those men, and I found that it was pretty clear that in all cases, where the article of trade can be produced, in whatever quantity is necessary for the demand, or where the demand is of such a nature as admits of diminution, without any great inconveniency to the consumer, trade will undoubtedly find its level in all ordinary cases, such as for clothes, furniture, or the luxuries of life; because the necessity, either of an immediate or regular supply, is not very great, or if it is, human industry, prompted by a little additional profit, would supply it; and this is what I apprehend is meant by trade finding its level; but in the event of an article, being such as cannot, on an emergency, be supplied in any great quantity by human industry, and the consumption not easily diminished or suspended, the case is different, and monopoly may take place. This, the respectable author in question (whose reasoning in general I allow to be good,) admits; but then he considers provisions as being of the former class, whereas, they are unfortunately of the latter.

If there is a short crop of grain, it will require a year to get a fresh supply, and the industry of man can do little to alleviate the distress in the mean time. And it is so, in a greater or less degree, with all sorts of provisions: hence we find, that while the woollen cloths of Yorkshire, the linens, cotton, hardwares, and other objects, the value of which consists chiefly in the labour that has produced them, and the consumption of which depends, in a great degree, on the facility with which they can be obtained, have remained very steady in their prices, all sorts of provisions have greatly augmented, and have, at particular periods, been objects of very great specula-

military men, who were capable of appreciating it, which we can only, in some measures, pretend to do; but, the alterations between the ancient tactics and the present, are animadverted on with such justice, and the necessity of considering the mode of fighting adopted by an enemy, as the guide for the manœuvres of a general, is so evident, that we cannot but be convinced.

If there is any general feature that runs through all the letters, it is that ardent desire to give practical instruction; but that the man who writes so well upon the art of war, should be a metaphisician, a political economist, and versed in so many different branches of study, we do not believe.

We are led to believe, that a number of persons, (at least three,) co-operated in their production, and even then, we think they had a field of sufficient extent.

We wish, that in some places, they had been less laconic, and that the writers had studied their style rather more, for though (errors of the press excepted) it is frequently energetic and beautiful, yet it is occasionally too careless and familiar for the characters, who are supposed to write on the subjects of which they treat.

We knew, before we inserted the letters, that the proprietor had an intention, to publish them in a volume, which we suppose will now be done, and that the volume will cost nearly as much as sixteen numbers of Anticipation, which contains so much other matter.

In a future number, we shall give a regular review of the letters, which have attracted a great deal of notice, though the important transactions of the present time are such, that nothing attracts general notice long. The fall of a state or kingdom is now a commom occurrence, it occupies the mind scarcely nine days, and then gives place to some other wonder.

In the silence of the night a whisper is heard, but during the roaring of the tempest, the giant speaks in vain. We are now in the midst of a tempest, therefore nothing can excite much continued attention; and in this view, the letters are well, for they treat of a vast number of interesting subjects with a brevity suited to the important occupations of the times in which we live.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

Continued from page 244.

Of external political objects, this is by far the greatest, and, if it be true, that the people are in a serious commotion, much may be expected; but there is no true nor certain information on this subject. Bonaparte has certainly departed from his usual caution in, at once, dethroning the king, and he will find the energies of the people much worse to contend with, than the imbicility of continental courts.

O! what legible lessons are held up to mankind! To courts in particular—Are they too stupid or too careless to profit by example?

The party struggles and petty cabals of of the court of Versailles, its indifference with respect to public opinion, and disregard to public opinion, and neglect to the complaints of the people, brought on its overthrow.

The Dutch were divided into two parties when the French seized their country. The king of Prussia's envy to the emperor of Germany, hastened the ruin of both; but in both courts there were private intrigues.—The catastrophe of Austerlitz, and an intrigue against the Archduke Charles, sealed the destruction of that great power. The battle of Jena, the capture of the fortresses in Prussia, and the destruction of that king-

dom, were facilitated and prepared by the divisions and the cabals of the courtiers.—The king himself was sufficiently weak not to be able to manage the courtiers, and sufficiently blind, ambitious, and interested to entertain a wish to see Austria humbled, and to seize hold of Hanover.

The ancient German confederacy was broken through by the jealousies and animosities of its members! That grand and antique empire is now no more; and the confederation of the Rhine, composed of slaves to Bonaparte, has started up in its place. Now, animosities are at an end, *fear* is now the *only*, the *universal* regulator of the actions of men. All the passions, such as avarice, ambition, and envy, are absorbed, unless the desire of living in slavery and humiliation, or being permitted to bend lower than any other to the prime usurper, can be dignified with the name of ambition.

Russia fell equally by its cabals.—The female cabalists disarmed Beningsen, and made his master a prisoner at Tilsit, where he signed his degradation and the ruin of his country.

Spain too has fallen by cabal; but the fall has been so rapid and so complete, that it affords some hope. There is now no half ruined and degraded monarch to purchase his miserable existence, at the price of the liberties of his people. There is no king in Spain, the people are left to act for themselves, and we shall soon see whether or not they are as pusillanimous as the sovereigns whom Bonaparte has subdued.

Unfortunately, the people, though they may have more courage and magnanimity than sovereigns such as those we have mentioned, have less means. They are not connected by leaders, or enabled to combine and co-operate in that manner that is necessary to obtain success. The Emperor of Germany, for example, can levy troops and organize armies at pleasure, yet still there is more hope of effectual resistance to the power of France, from the irregular resolution of an enraged people, than from the regular, but lukewarm resistance of the largest army, conducted by a timid and cautious chief.

We are glad to understand that the government of this country is completely disposed to aid the Spaniards, if circumstances are such as to promise success, or if the conduct of the people is such as to merit confidence and assistance; but it is, we believe, determined to listen to no uncertain accounts, and to no half-authentic information. We hope that this resolution will be persevered in; but we must remind ministers, that in the end of 1792, Mr. Pitt, and his coadjutors, laid down the same resolution, but it was not kept. That great minister did not directly listen to the emigrants, but all around him did; or if any one less than the rest, Lord Melville was that man; but Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and all the others were besieged by emigrants, from morning till night, publicly and privately, and even the discerning Earl of Liverpool felt their power.

We hope ministers will not forget that few persons ever commence any new affair without laying down wise rules and maxims; but that, in the course of executing the projects, those rules and maxims are very frequently forgotten, and in the present case there is the same danger, which to avoid, the best way would be to trust neither to arguments nor information from any persons from that country, because they have only so far the same interest with us, and with the world at large. They, as well as we, are interested in resisting Bonaparte, but to them it would be desirable to risque the fate of every thing, for the sake of Spain, nay, even for a small chance of success. Now, our interest is, only to aid them, in case there is a very considerable chance in our favour; for if we fail, we must thereby greatly in-

crease the power of Bonaparte, enfeeble ourselves, and injure Spain.

We must know that the last great struggle is for this country. If we can conquer our enemy on Spanish ground, it will be a great advantage, no doubt; but if we fail there, our difficulties on our own ground, will be greatly augmented.

The difficulty is the greater, that promptitude is no less necessary than caution, for slow relief will be of no use, and premature relief, or relief before we are certain that it is likely to be of service, will be dangerous, unless very wisely and carefully combined.

Arms, ammunition, and money, with a few enterprising men to be depended upon, both to co-operate, and to give true information, are what may be sent with safety; for, if ever circumstances render the aid useless, the mischief will not be great: but any thing that will draw numbers of troops from this country or Ireland ought, *at all events*, to be avoided. We may facilitate the resistance of the injured Spaniards, we may encourage and assist them, if the spirit and population of the country are such as to require it; but we never can, by adding to their numbers, do any thing, and we may ruin ourselves.

We hope ministers will consider this very seriously, and, probably, before our next, we shall know something certain relative to the interior of the ill-fated country.

[*To be continued.*]

NEW REGULATION IN TAXATION.

We are very sorry that some persons, either ill-intentioned or ignorant, have advised such rigorous measures in the collection of the assessed taxes, as, if persisted in, may produce very serious evils in this country.

The only thing that renders the income and assessed taxes sufferable is, that there is a discretional lenity as to time, granted to men of humanity, and consideration, and, what is still more, their being productive, are owing to the same cause; for if they were collected with unfeeling rigour, they could neither be paid, nor could the oppression be borne.

The difficulties of paying a sum of money rigorously on a certain day, or as soon after as possible, are very different to people in certain situations. To others there may be no difference. General regulation ought, therefore, always to be attended with a discretional power to mitigate what is rigorous, according to circumstances. The Roman empire fell as much through the unwise and inhuman rigour in collecting taxes, as from any other cause; for the load of taxes was so great, and the manner of levying them was so severe, that, at last, the Roman citizens envied the barbarians, and thinking they could not be in a worse condition than they were, they lost all attachment to their country.

The sum of money levied by taxation in this country, is great, far beyond what the most sanguine, or the most able speculators on such subjects, ever expected. Their existence is a *miracle*, if we may give that title to what we cannot explain nor comprehend; we ought then to be happy to find that such an excessive load can be borne without total distruction, and great care ought to be taken, to make no dangerous experiments in so serious a case.

We have a very high opinion of Mr. Perceval's principles and his humanity, and we are sure he does what he thinks best; but we must say, (at the risque of our opinion giving offence,) that in this case he acts from wrong information, or wrong advice. Nothing shall prevent us from speaking for the good of the country, for though we do not wish to burn the red book, or clamour about

places and pensions eternally; yet we will never sit silent, when we think its safety in danger.

In this case, we make A SOLEMN APPEAL to the *Chancellor of the Exchequer, in behalf of Human Nature, of his Country, and of Himself.* Taxation has succeeded beyond expectation, and beyond hope. People have borne it with a patience and good nature, that are equally admirable and astonishing; yet an experiment is to be made, whether they cannot dance more lightly under the load; and for what is this experiment? For the ideal advantage of receiving the money sooner. We say *ideal advantage*, for if the attempt is made, such it will turn out to be.

Suppose four millions are collected six months sooner than by the present plan, (which is the most that can be expected,) the advantage will be equal to £100,000 a year.

Against this very respectable sum, which will pay Lord Grenville's family for several years, and will subsidize the king of Sweden a month, or the king of Sicily a quarter, we must make a considerable set off.

First, the vexation and misery of mind of about two millions of persons, for the certainty of rigorous exaction causes great pain, where there is not a certainty of ability to pay; but this is a mental disadvantage, we cannot reduce it to figures, or, if we could, it would overturn the whole calculation of gain; for to make so many people miserable, to have a cloud hanging over their minds perpetually, for so small a sum, is terrible.

Counting the persons of a family who feel, it probably does not amount to more than one shilling a year each, for which their lives are embittered..

But of those who can pay with indulgence, there will be numerous defaulters, when rigourously pressed upon; and as one person in ten in the nation is already in the workhouse, it is fair enough to suppose that one person in ten, who could pay if they had time, will not be able to pay, if they are hard pushed. If so, the loss would be £400,000 to set off against the sum of £100,000.

Still this is not all.—When a man is seized upon, and loses his credit, his comfort, and his existence, (as it were,) by the rigour of the law, he ceases to be able to pay any taxes, and the loss is incalculable.

The collection of sixteen millions, with rigour, will very probably ruin, in the course of the year, 20,000 families, and bring on a defalcation of more than a million; for loss, as well as gain, acting on the community at large, goes in a compound ratio.

We beg and entreat of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider, seriously, all these consequences, which if they are not certain, or even probable, are, at least, possible; and their extent is so great, that the smallest risque should not be run in so serious a circumstance

But great as we have pointed out this danger to be, there is still another.—At present the tax gatherers can make a seizure for arrears, with that sort of *prudent irregularity* that evades combination or resistance; but who will say what may be the consequence, if a vast number of persons, all in one quarter of a town, feel the same pressure on the same day. We tremble when we think on this, and reflect on the possible consequences.

This is a subject *not* to be continued. If what we have said now is of no avail, neither will any thing we can say on the subject.

ON THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF EARLY FRUGALITY.

MR. EDITOR,

As I know, from some of your literary labours, that you are much more conversant than myself with matters of calculation and finance, I have taken the liberty of inclosing, for your perusal, a pamphlet I have just published, concerning the ministerial project for raising money by granting annuities; to which scheme, you will perceive, that I urge strong objections in its *present form*; though from what is said in page 13, I would wish to be understood as not absolutely hostile to the annuity system, but as expressing a wish to see it *so modified* and *improved*, that it may be rendered much less objectionable; and I think it by no means a difficult task.

As your paper is probably admitted to the houses of cabinet ministers, I hope you will do me the honour to extract those few lines in page 13, in your *next* weekly paper, and add such comments concerning the principle of annuities, as your own skill and better knowledge of the subject will readily furnish.

But my most material object, is to request that you will *immediately* extract the greater part of page 16, and part of 17, which I trust will prove as effectual, as cogent, and convincing, to recommend industry and frugality, as a long learned sermon exhorting men to be sober-minded, and so forth.

The plain simplicity of the ideas seems calculated to do much good amongst young persons; and, either annexed thereto, or in the following week, I hope you will add your own comprehensive thoughts on the same subject,

I am, respectfully,

A BRITON.

"The season of youth should be the season of œconomy. Frugality is then of double value by its powerful operation in old age. Men begin to be *œconomists* when they ought rather to become *prodigals*, or to enjoy freely what they had carefully earned.—This would be the best plan to promote virtue in the beginning of life, and cheerfulness in the close. Age may properly be called the *usufructuary* period of life, or that period when a man *ought* to indulge himself generously with the frugal savings of youth.

"This plan of conduct would keep youth from the gallows, and old age from the workhouse.

"Learn then, ye youthful readers of these pages, that 20s. saved before ye are twenty years old, will be £4 in your pocket before ye are fifty; £8 before ye are threescore and two; and £16. before ye are seventy-six: and all this *without one more* stroke of labour from you, but simply by its own operation at the rate of compound interest; which doubles the capital in the space of about fourteen years.

"Suppose, therefore, the youth of frugal habits had saved £25 before he were twenty-five years old; at thirty nine he would have £50; at fifty three, £100; at sixty-seven, £200*; and at eighty-one years old, £400;† even supposing he were never

* From table 11. he may learn that 200*l.* would afford a man to exist thirteen years, with an income varying from 25*l.* to 15*l.* per annum, and that without a single hour of labour. How foolish then is it for youth to sqander, in idle pursuits, that property which would ultimately yield them so many solid comforts.

† Four hundred pounds would give an income for fifteen years, varying from 40*l.* to 25*l.*; and for four years more, from 24*l.* to 21*l.* so that if we add these nineteen years

after to save a single penny, but to live up to his full earnings: and thus he would be constantly having a fund in reserve against the wants of old age, or bodily infirmity.

"Of so much use is early œconomy, and so unwise is it to surrender capital to purchase annuity, when arrived to old age.

"Having thus combined moral precept with arithmetical demonstration, I have nothing more to say, but to bid my little book go into the world and do all the good it can, by leading youth to be frugal and industrious, that old age may be cheerful and comfortable."

DANISH EXPEDITION.

Mr. Editor,

It is now going on fast to a year since the expedition was directed towards Copenhagen, and a considerable time since Danish ships and property was seized and brought into our ports, proceedings carried on, and many condemned; yet there has been no arrangement made for a compensation to British subjects, the suffering individuals, in just and equitable claims, entitled to the most serious attention and consideration.

You declare yourself to be independent in your sentiments, and that your object is to point out abuses, that government may remedy them; I therefore hope you will do so in this instance, for I am actuated by no party motive, nor by any self-interest, but the purest patriotism, consequently I feel that the honor and justice of the government called in question; for the people, under all the privations of enjoyments and comforts, heavy taxes, loss of commerce, and gloomy prospects, have not murmured, nor have they excited public clamour to embarrass ministers, in the arduous struggle in which, I conceive, their attention to be so much engaged at this crisis.

Of the policy of that expedition I will not now enter, the deed is done; but certain it is, that Denmark was the only country by means of which we got our manufactures conveyed upon the Continent, and as that expedition has certainly put a stop to the usual vent of British manufactures and produce to the Continent, it is natural, in so sudden and unexpected an attack, without any previous notice or declaration, that the number of sufferers must be numerous and considerable in amount; yet, although the government has considerable funds, indeed, at least treble the amount of all the losses of British subjects, well-founded and proved losses ought to have instant remuneration, and in doing so, the British government only follow the example of Denmark; for whenever a peace takes place, such an arrangement will not embarrass the settlement of the two governments, but will have the happy effect of preventing much individual injury and ruin.

I call your attention to this subject, because the ministers conceive they have got over the unfavourable impressions made in the country; as well as the violent attack made upon them, in consequence of that expedition; however, they may be much mistaken in that point. What serves to increase the discontent is—the contrast of the conduct of government, to the Portuguese native sufferers, as well as of British subjects connected with them; that all that property is restored, either due to the claiming individuals, or that not demanded given up to the Portuguese ambassador, for his distribution.

---

to eighty-one, we shall bring the man to his century of years; wherein, if he die, he will have 20*l.* left for his funeral, and all this arising from only 25*l.* early applied to accumulate by interest. Youthful reader, reflect on this, and act with wisdom—refrain from excessive gluttony and finery in youth, and you will not be in want nor in rags, when you are old.

Now, what has been done for the British subjects, (sufferers) relative to Denmark? The government retains the money, and the individuals get no attention paid to their claims; and unless some independent members, free from party bias, take up the question upon policy, and the necessity of the case, I fear much will be done, when parliament is up. The sufferers at Lloyd's, in Hull, Newcastle, Leeds, Scotland, and other quarters of the United Kingdom, begin to be impatient, and they only require a man to move in the business, and one they have had in their eye—an able man, who has the confidence and good opinion of all, well known to the commercial world, and a fellow-sufferer, and lately arrived in this country, he can put the matter in its proper light; and should he not be induced to step forward, I shall in my next, publicly address him by name,

A PATRIOT.

FORGED DRAFTS ON BANKERS.

We are very happy to hear that a plan has been proposed to the London Bankers, and likely to be adopted, for preventing the facility of forging drafts, in the names of those who keep cash with the different houses.

The London Bankers, we know, are gentlemen, and men of humanity and liberality, and surely it has caused them much pain (as well as some expence) to see the frequent executions, on account of forgeries, which, but for the banking system, would be impossible, and but for the facility given at present, rare and difficult.

When every person that deposited cash, wrote the whole of the check, forgeries were difficult; but now the name only is expected to be filled up by the person drawing the money, and all the rest of the checks can be obtained without difficulty.

As we suppose, from our information, that the plan will be adopted, (for it has been approved of by some very intelligent bankers, both as efficient and easy in practice) we are glad that a few weeks ago we suppressed, or, at least, suspended some observations on the subject of the number of lives lost, owing to want of due precaution.

Some of the bankers are less likely to adopt the plan than others, for that some of them will do so, there is no doubt; but in that case, it will be the duty of all men who keep cash with bankers, both as men of humanity and as christians, to withdraw their accounts from such as will not adopt a plan, the purpose of which is so good, and the efficiency of which is ascertained.

We have always sought every occasion to promote what is of public advantage, without regarding to whom we may give displeasure, and in this case, if the plan is not adopted, or some other, we shall never cease on the subject. We are, indeed, prepared, in that case, to tell a tale that will make the *ears of all Israel to tingle*; but this we are persuaded will not be necessary: and the same philanthropy that raises friends to *negroes* and *chimney sweepers*, to those who cannot help themselves, will raise a friend for inculcating on the public the necessity of only encouraging such bankers as think that the blood of a fellow creature is of more value than a few drops of ink.

We have seen the plan proposed, and though there are different ways of executing it, there is one so simple, that it will not cost the first banker in London 100l. a year to put it in practice. The others are more complete, but would be attended with some trouble, where the business is very great, and the simplest of all the modes is sufficient to answer the purpose.

The society for the suppression of vice may occupy itself about trifling irregularity,

ties, and prosecute blind fidlers, for officiating at a sixpenny hop, or punish waterman or barbers for shaving or sailing on Sundays, with a zeal that would have done honour to *Praise God*, *Barebones*, or any of Oliver Cromwell's companions; but we go on a different plan, and wish to prevent crimes, not to prevent mirth, nor to assume the right of defining what is meant by keeping the Lord's day holy, farther than the Saviour of mankind himself said. We consider that every act, in itself, innocent and lawful, that cannot be performed except on a sabbath day, is, more or less, either a work of *necessity* or *mercy*. We admit that there are various degrees; but enjoyment on the water can, we think, be no worse than on land, and we see no moral or religious superiority enjoyed by drunkards more than by dancers.

We are led into those reflections from having received a letter on this subject, and with a design to shew the difference between zeal in preventing shedding a fellow creatures blood, and preventing shaving his beard, on the only day in the week that he has time to undergo the operation.

THE INDEPENDENT WHIG.

THE insertion of the letter from Lord Mansfield to the Attorney General, just at the time that this trial was about to come on, has been considered by some as intended to influence opinion. Very far, however, is that from being the case, for that letter was written before the Whig wrote the libel, for which he has been tried and found guilty. Not a word has been altered, and it can be proved that the manuscript was in the hands of several very respectable persons in January last.

As to the time of appearing, the letter came in the regular course of letters, and, therefore, the coincidence was accidental, not intentional.

Having said so much to exculpate ourselves from any wish to break the bruised reed, or trample to dust the withered leaf, we must add, that the verdict gives us pleasure, not as the punishment of an individual, for in that we can have no enjoyment, but as some stop to the virulent abuse against government, that tends to make men less contented with their king and country, to make them less happy, and the kingdom less safe. Thus we exculpate ourselves from all unfriendly interference, but shew that it is through no fear of offending the Whig, who is not one of King William's sort, but who is a sort of compound of Wilkes, Junius, and Horne Tooke, in a humble style, and at a great distance.

We only wish the mistaken man, and all his followers, to compare the manner of administering justice in this country, to that in those under Bonaparte. To compare the trial of the Whig, with that of the bookseller Palm, and then blame the judge and jury if they can.

To SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

SIR,

I AM informed that, as an individual gentleman, you are an amiable character, and I am fully disposed to give credit to that. I am farther told, that you have good intentions with respect to your country, and that neither ambition nor private views have any share in your public conduct. I am neither inclined to discredit that intirely, nor to give it implicit belief. In short, I think the truth lies between, and that, with a serious good intention, you have a considerable share of vanity; and I am well persuaded those who mounted you in the

splendid car of last year's triumph, knew your ruling passion.

As men who have a good deal of vanity, have also a good deal of obstinacy, I shall not trouble you with arguments, but mention to you some facts.

As to your triumphal car: I saw the same triumphal car that carried the remains of Voltaire to the Pantheon, at Paris, employed, soon after, to carry forty galley slaves in triumph to the National Assembly. That car (much more splendid than your's) was preceeded by banners and emblems of liberty. If you doubt the truth, you may ask of the Marquis of Stafford if he did not see it pass by the wall of his garden. After that, there is no great cause to be proud of a popular triumph, for such was that of the galley slaves. Collet D'Herbois, the great patriot, who burned the red book, in France, projected and conducted the triumph. The jacobin club, and all the patriots of the day attended, and it was very like your promenade, only on a much more magnificent scale and national expence. That same Collet was afterwards sent to Cayenne. He was thought to be (before the revolution) a good-natured innocent sort of man, and rather humane than otherwise; yet, when once worked up to revolutionary frenzy, he was worse than Robespierre, for he officiated in person at the masacres at Lyons, where the prisoners were turned out to be fired at with grape shot. It was that Collet that tied a lady to the guillotine, whilst her husband suffered. I cannot, Sir, proceed farther with the history of that infernal man, who, till the democratic fury raged, was not worse than other men.

There is danger, Sir Francis, that a man of an ardent mind may be led to go too far; and even if he does not, there is danger still. I knew intimately and well Monsieur Duval D'Esprimeuil, a member of the parliament of Paris before the revolution, which he was the first to bring on. He was an eloquent and learned man, of unexceptionable conduct, and only aimed at a reasonable reform. He resisted the king, and tried to exalt the parliament (which was only a court of justice) into a body, representing the nation. He, like other good oppositionists, rendered himself popular; and I remember, in 1797, he was adored as much as it was possible for any man to be.

When the States General were called together, he was chosen a member, but he very soon saw the danger that was coming, and refused to go beyond a certain length in reform. I remember seeing him at Versailles, in less than three months after the revolution began, when he had been obliged to conceal himself from the *vengeance* of the same people, by whom, two years before, he was almost worshiped.

Mr. D'Esprimeuil, L'Abbe Mori, and Cazales, then became the three principal supporters of the throne, and were most obnoxious to the people, but when the first assembly was finished, the Abbe went to Rome, Cazales to England, and D'Esprimeuil remained at Paris.

Having then neither power to do good nor harm, he was left in quiet till the beginning of August 1792, that was when the jacobins had resolved to overturn royalty entirely.

When an great effort was to be made by the people, they always began by sacrificing some individual, and unfortunately Mr. D'Esprimeuil and a friend were observed walking in the Thuillery Gardens, when the mob assembled. He was instantly known, and a general cry set up against him. In lest han a minute his clothes were torn off, he was assaulted with stones, sticks, and sabres, and pursued to the Palais Royal, only a small distance off.

There did I come up, when the unfortunate man was setting under the arcades, on the ground, covered with blood, his tongue hanging from his mouth, his eyes rolling

wildly, and unable to proceed—all the doors were shut, and the mob was rushing in incessantly—I run up to the man I had long known and esteemed, and offered to take him to my house. Where is that? cried fifty voices at once. Very near, was the answer, and after being thrice pulled back by persons I did not know, I succeeded, with the assistance of a National Guard, in supporting him to walk; he had sixteen cuts of sabres on his head and body, and was insensible of what was going on.

Fortunately the pressure of the crowd obliged us to turn to the left, opposite the National Treasury, instead of turning to the right, where I lived, and with great difficulty, the soldiers on guard were induced to open the gate and give us protection.—About a dozen of the mob entered, but the rest were shut out, and the wounded man was laid on a bed of loose straw.

I was ill treated for having assisted an aristocrat, and obliged to conceal myself in the corps de garde on the other side of the court, for at first they wished to force me into the street. Certain of death, I absolutely refused that, and defended myself violently and boldly! It was then I was allowed to conceal myself.

Large bodies of cavalry kept arriving, and at last, by occupying the street, pushed away the mob, which, for two hours, kept calling for D'Esprimeuil's head. At last, Petion, the mayor of Paris, one of the great leaders of the people at that time, arrived, and went into the apartment where D'Esprimeuil was laid on the straw. That gentleman was a little recovered, and looking fixedly at Petion, who had been his colleague in the national assembly said "Well, "Mr. Petion, I was once the idol of the "people, but see where I lie." The mayor was so struck with the circumstance, that he fainted away, and Mons. D'Esprimeuil was conducted to prison, as the only place where he could be safe from the fury of that people, by whom he had been idolized; and when he left the prison, it was to mount a scaffold!!

So perished the first promoter of the French revolution.—A man of property, (he was born at Pondicherry,) of eloquence and of virtue; a man, in whose private life there was not a flaw, and who was as much idolized all over France, as you, Sir Francis, was amongst a part of the inhabitants of Westminster. This history, I believe, needs no commentary.

Petion, the other idol of the day, had still a harder fate. He perished with hunger, hiding himself from the sight of men, and his body was found on a stone quarry, partly devoured by the fowls of the air;

Be assured, Sir, that it is very dangerous to be the idol of the people if they succeed. If not, to what purpose?—Only to increase discontent, and render the government more strict, for your conduct has not the effect of moderate opposition, you are a declared enemy to modertion.

I shall only finish by mentioning how the adventure finished with respect to myself. When Mr. Petion was gone, I got three dozen of small Burgundy (sold by the Swiss of the treasury) and treated all the soldiers who called me a brave Anglais, and drank to the health of King George, but they would not drink to their own king, who, in about a fortnight after, was dragged to prison, and you know his end.

You know also, Sir, in what all this has terminated. The luxury of the court is greater than ever. The liberty of the people less—So that whether you think for yourself or for the people, (and I give you credit for thinking for both) the case deserves serious reflection; you increase discontent by exaggerating evil, from which it is not the lot of mankind to be free; you, therefore, lessen the happiness of those who admire you, if they do not revolt, and if they do, you injure them still more; so that

I see nothing but mischief can arise from such violent doctrines, a those you promulgate. If you doubt the truth of this narrative, you may, at the Office of Anticipation, find the names of living witnesses of the fact, and if you do not doubt it, you must certainly feel a little uneasy at the POSSIBLE, whatever you may think of the probable consequences of your efforts.

London June 15, 1808. W. P.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

MANY observations have been made on the society for the Suppression of Vice; but, I have never heard of one great objection to its operations stated, that I hope will not pass unnoticed in our courts of justice, when vexatious on frivolous prosecutions are commenced.

I take it, Sir, that there are two sorts of laws; one made to be strictly enforced, and the other only when the good of society requires its being so. My reason for thinking so, is, that there ought to be no actions prevented, that do not injure society, as every thing is by nature lawful that does no harm.

Now, Sir, there are some things that never can be done innocently. There are others, that may be so occasionally, as for example; thieft, murder and perjury, never can; but there are some things forbidden by law, that are, sometimes, not only innocent, but right and necessary.

To be found in the streets in the time of divine worship, subjects a man by law to fine or imprisoned; Sir, I have seen men both fined and imprisonment at Manchester, for no greater a crime; and I remember a man going to see his mother who was dying, was compelled to turn back, though he had farther to walk, than if he had gone on. I happened to pass a few days at Manchester, about twenty years ago, and was in-ed by the very gentlemen who thus patrolled the town, to accompany them.—O, thought I, if *Sancho*, the *wise governor* of *Barataria* had been here, what a moment t would have been for a poor weaver, to beg permission to see his dying mother.

I began then to reflect on the absurdity of the law, and it occurred to me, that it was merely meant as a regulation to be enforced, if it were found that walking in sermon time became too general a practice; but that, it never was intended to be put in force against single individuals, who might be found transgressing.

Sir, there are things that only become evil when done to excess; now, as this is the case, I humbly thank the law to prevent such things, is only to be put in force, when they are done to a hurtful degree; and I do not know, that the society for the Suppression of Vice, has any right to interfere and enforce the law, when the good of society does not require it.

I think this is a discretional power, that belongs to the government of this country, and neither to an individual, nor any body of individuals. By the government of the country, I mean some of the magestrates or judges, to whom the administration of justice is intrusted.

If you do not suppress this letter, I shall trouble you with some father remarks on this suppressing society,

London, June, 12, 1808. No PURITAN.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We shall, in our next, insert the articles relative to Mr. LUDLAM, together with the letter to the DOCTOR, with some observations on his long affidavit.

John Bunyan's letter on the Christian Missionaries, in our next.

Printed by W. *Glindon, Rupert-street, Haymarket; and published for the Proprietors,* 24, *Porter-street, Long Acre,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

N°. 16.

The King and the Country.

Printed by GLINDON, 48, Rupert-Street, Haymarket.

Published for the Proprietors, 24, Porter-Street, Long Acre

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1808,

To be continued Weekly, Price 8d.

ANTICIPATION,

IN

Politics, Commerce, and Finance,

During the present Crisis,

"*TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK.*"

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.	WAR AND PEACE.	EUROPEAN POLITICS
EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.	INTERIOR.	ARMY AND NAVY.
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.	IMPROVEMENTS.	TAXATION.
NAVIGATION LAWS.	IRISH AFFAIRS.	MONOPOLY.
EUROPEAN TRADE.	NATIONAL	PRICE OF
GENERAL POLITICS.	EXPENDITURE.	PROVISIONS.

GOVERNEUR MORRIS's AMERICAN PAMPHLET.

As we have not, for a long time, met with any pamphlet written with more good sense, or shrewdness of observation, than one written by Mr. Morris, an American gentleman, who has been deeply concerned in commercial and political affairs during the whole of his life time.

What a contrast between this and the paltry elegance of the unmeaning Roscoe, or the violent declamation of Mr. Peter Cobbett.

We only give such parts as have a general interest, the rest is unfit for quotation, as it relates to American affairs only, and would be only a fragment. What we give is in itself complete without any addition.

"In the following sheets we have endeavoured to avoid reproach and crimination. In some instances indignation has burst forth. We might, it is confessed, now soften the terms. But really there are occasions, on which wholly to restrain the warmth of expression, implies a defect of honest sentiment. And there are subjects also, to treat which in the cool style of narration, is to betray the cause of virtue.

"Aware that it may be said we are personally hostile to the administration, we think it proper to put the question at rest, by declaring candidly our opinion. We

consider, then, Mr. Gallatin as an efficient man of real talents. We did not approve, neither do we now approve, of his appointment; but we forbear to assign the reasons, because, as far as it has come to our knowledge, his conduct is not reprehensible. We believe, moreover, that he is not swayed by pecuniary motives. We are convinced that he touched nothing in the Louisiana concern, and have no reason to suppose he will pocket any part of the sum to be expended in purchasing the Floridas. We consider Mr. Maddison as a man of considerable genius, though somewhat slow, and of great industry. We approved of his appointment. We knew indeed that he was a man of feeble mind; and had seen with concern that he gave himself up to Mr. Jefferson, without reserving the use of his own judgment. When we first knew him he was a youth of ingenuous temper, whose ignorance of the world exposed him to become the prey of any sharper (of either sex) by whom he might be assailed. From a defect of firmness in the texture of his mind, and perhaps also from a defect of education, he was not in the habit of recurring always to fixed principles for a decision on conduct and opinions. So long, however, as he hung on the arm of Washington, his course was steady, and gained him honour. But the instant he let go that hold, he fell into a ricketty condition, from which he never recovered; and is now in a deep decline of character, for which we fear there is no remedy. The first violent symptom was a panegyric on the French constitution: the more extraordinary, as that instrument, in all its prominent features, was opposite to the constitution he had assisted in making, and laboured earnestly and successfully in persuading us to adopt. It would be painful to mark the steps by which this gentleman has descended to his present condition; the mere instrument of Mr. Jefferson. We believe him still honest and well-disposed. We think he would make an excellent first clerk in the Secretary of State's office, and sincerely regret the want of qualities and talents for the place he occupies. Mr. Jefferson is a man of pleasing, modest, unassuming manners. His conversation, generally amusing, is frequently instructive.

"Though not deep in any one science, he has that acquaintance with them all which becomes a scholar and adorns a gentleman. He has a considerable share of genius; and there is, in his deportment, an air of frankness and deference to others, which are agreeable to all, and are sure of captivating the young and inexperienced. If there be blemishes in his private character, we have nothing to do with them. We consider him as a public man, and in this view he has great defects. Like others who have fallen into the idle habit of questioning established truth, his faculty of weighing evidence is impaired. Hence such an astonishing degree of credulity, that he could not only believe the French were free while suffering oppression the most cruel and bloody that ever poor wretches groaned under, but (finding it printed in a French book) he believed, and gravely told the Congress, there is a great mountain of salt in Louisiana. Mr. Jefferson has also the misfortune to be a schemer, perpetually occupied with some strange out-of-the-way project. If this were confined to speculation, it would be a harmless foible; but he tries to carry his projects into effect. Sometimes he prevails on the Congress to adopt them, and then poor sailors are sent a-ducking over the ocean in gun-boats. At other times he is less successful, as when he proposed to stow away ships of the line upon shelves. He labours also under such defect of mental vision, that he seldom sees objects in their natural state and true position: just as when we look through a fog, many things near us are not perceived, and those we

see appear larger and nearer than they really are.

We have said Mr. Jefferson is not deep in any science. He is more deficient in that of politics than in any other; and indeed it is impossible he should ever become a statesman; because a clear, distinct, and comprehensive view of objects, with a ready conception of their bearings on each other, is a needful pre-requisite. A second pre-requisite is, so to weigh evidence, presumption and probability, as properly to give or withold their faith: in short, to believe what we ought, and no more. A third is never to indulge notions which have not experience to recommend them: for though it be possible that after the many years which history numbers, and the many thousand events it records, something new in the science of ethics may be discovered, it is not likely; and if it were, the maxim of physicians should be adopted, to make experiments on bodies of little value, and not on the body politic. If any gentleman assume as a principle that mankind can be governed by reason; and insist, notwithstanding the evidence of all history, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, that we may prudently rely on reason for the defence of nations, we would advice him to commence a course of experiments with his own family, and see how far reason will go there. If successful, let him proceed to those with whom he transacts business. Let him reason them into the support of his pecuniary or political views, without any regard to their own interest. If again successful, let him go or send to such a man as Bonaparte, and tell him 'tis unreasonable that boys should be taken from their parents to fight and perish in the plains of Poland. That instead of employing large armies, it would be cheaper and better to pick out a few able negociators, if any can be found among his own subjects; but if not, to borrow Messrs. Armstrong and Munro, and send them to persuade the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia to surrender their dominions. That a proposion so reasonable in itself, and supported by so much eloquence, could not be rejected. If Napoleon, being persuaded himself, should in this quiet, friendly way, persuade his brother Alexander, the specific would indeed have the sanction of fair experiment, and might safely be adopted. It would surely be a great improvement. Happy condition! without fleets or armies, judges or constables, laws or executioners, to sit secure and happy under the broad shade of reason! But if it should prove, on trial, that neither in a family, a city, a national assembly, or with a leader of nations, the force of reason can be relied on; if we should again, for the ten thousandth time, be demonstrated, that what has been true since the world began, remains true at the present hour, and the gentleman still insists on his project, he could not be much respected as a politician. But though Mr. Jefferson is not, and, from the reasons just mentioned, can never become a statesman, he is a man of great address. Having a quick sense of danger, he has studied the means by which it may be avoided. Knowing the instability of popular opinion, he knew that to rely on it was unsafe. He determined, therefore, to avoid responsibility. This is the cardinal point by which the course of his administration has been directed, with undeviating attention. Consistently with this plan, he associated the house of representatives in the exercise of his functions. The leaders to whom he applied, were charmed with the mark of confidence, and beyond all measure delighted with that republican spirit which, instead of seeking unlawful power, so freely and frankly discharged itself of the unlawful power with which it had been invested. When, over and above that excessive condescension, the patronage of office was laid at their feet;

when they were invited to select the proper subjects for appointment; and when they were told that they, the immediate representatives, were the organs through which he wished to learn, that will of the people which it was his pleasure and pride to obey, how could they suspect the motive to be selfish? It was natural to believe the fountain pure when its waters were so refreshing. In this way, however, the house of representatives was brought to initiate executive business, and, taking responsibility from his shoulders, to invest him with unlimited power. Like a sly animal in the fable, who likes roast chesnuts, but will not put his paws in the fire, he crept behind the curtain, and persuaded a friendly cat to undertake that part of the business; content, provided he gets the nuts, to leave with others, all the honour of raking them out of the embers. By this course of conduct, Mr. Jefferson has not only injured the constitution, and established a system of corruption; but (extending the web of intrigue to influence elections over the whole country) he has composed a congress of such materials, that respect for the national government is much diminished. He has placed himself also in a state of dependance, whereby he is driven to do unrighteous things, and which disenables him from becoming useful, should any course of events restore him to the love of honest fame.

Of the other members of our administration nothing need be said; neither shall we take notice of those who are occasionally charged with communicating the President's wishes to the Legislature: a sort of ministers whom Mr. Randolph has described in terms of no little acrimony. Having mentioned this gentleman's name, we will add, that he appears to possess, in an eminent degree, some distinguishing traits of the Virginia character: A lively genius, a bold spirit, a high and haughty mind, with the habit of thinking for himself and commanding others. Unfortunately for him he took up false notions at an early period, and committed himself to such an extent, that he finds it difficult to eradicate the impressions from his mind, or free himself from the perplexities with which they entangle his conduct. The executive government, having studied his character, were glad to employ him. He was their sword and shield. But there were some views and plans which it was deemed unsafe to confide to a person of his temper. His indignation at the discovery was exprest in terms not easily mistaken. But though he flounces, he cannot break loose. He is not deficient in personal courage; but he dares not leave his party. Indeed, he is haunted by the panic fear, that the high and honourable sentiments he has expressed will lead the world to believe him a federalist. This apprehension, though whimsical, is not singular. It has, though with far less reason, laid hold of a kind of up and down man, who writes letters to his constituents in Vermont.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

[*Continued from Page* 292.]

THIS certainly is the most important subject at the present time that we have to contemplate, but we are very sorry that the prospect before us, is not what we could wish.

Uninformed as we are with respect to the recent affairs that have taken place, the extent of French cruelty and severity, or of Spanish bravery and resistance, we still think that we can form a tolerably just conclusion as to what will take place.

We have the character and conduct of Bonaparte to consider.—The general disposition of the Spaniards of modern times, and the relative situation of the two contending parties.

On the side of Bonaparte, there is great judgment, perseverance, and unalterable determination, such as he possessed, when, with an army, he has invaded Germany and other countries, conquering and subduing all resistance, after defeating the regular troops of the country.

In the case with the unfortunate Spaniards, he has much less to do. The troops of Spain are at his command, or sent away to a distance, by his orders. The powers of government are also at his disposal; so that he can give his orders with regularity all over Spain, whilst his opponents, though in a just and legitimate cause, are compelled to act with the furtive irregularity of rebels and insurgents.

By this means Bonaparte has inapreciable advantages, supposing the number of his troops in Spain not to be quite so great as has been represented, and supposing, also, that the patriots are in as great numbers as has been stated.

It must be yet remembered how Bonaparte had, in the very beginning of his carreer, the resistance of the people in the north of Italy to struggle with, and how, by his severity, and burning whole towns, he inspired terror and enforced submission, when his name was yet unknown, and the French armies were so far from being universally triumphant, that they only were recovering from defeat.

As to the boasted bold spirit of the people of Spain, let us not forget what happened in the war of the succession, when Lewis XIV. placed a Bourbon on the throne. Let us remember how the Spaniards remained tame spectators; and how Lord Peterborough, with a very small army, marched over the face of Spain, took possession of Madrid, and whatever places he chose, as Guilliver might have been supposed to march amongst the small people of the island of Lilliput.

In history, no people made a more contemptible figure than the Spaniards did then, that is about a century ago, and if they have regenerated and become vigorous under their feeble sovereigns of the Bourbon race, they have carefully concealed the change, and a miracle has been performed over a whole country, without ever obtaining publicity, or being perceived.

Unless something might be hoped from that spirit of violence and despair, which may be roused among the most degraded people on earth, on certain occasions, we confess we have little to expect; and if that were roused, we will not pretend to say that an united and resolute people might not destroy their cruel invaders; but that it is not so, we think; even with the very imperfect information that we can safely believe, and it is with grief and reluctance we do believe it.

The character of such a patriotic resistance is never equivocal, nor is it even cautious or concealed, because as it is only by decision, promptitude, and declared resolution, that those who begin first can draw over others to their standard; so they find it necessary to act in a manner that inspires those whom they wish to join them with confidence.

The Americans acted in this manner when they threw off the government of Great Britain; they never hesitated nor made terms either with their friends or their enemies. They accepted aid on any conditions, and they resisted with vigour and unanimity; for though they did not destroy those who remained attached to the old government, they compelled them instantly to quit the country, so that unanimity reigned among those who remained.

In the single case of the fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, we see a balancing of interests—a slow, consulting consideration, that augurs *badly—very* badly indeed for the cause. The Spaniards are not, they cannot be, in that determined state of resistance to France, that is necessary for success in a desperate enterprise, otherwise they would,

without any sort of hesitation, have given up a fleet, that must fall either into the hands of the English or the French, and that to themselves is not of any utility.

The instant a people, in so desperate a case, begin to balance matters nicely, and bargain for assistance, they balance also with respect to submission. In short, they are undone, for their oppressors will not balance about carrying their measures, with the utmost rigour, into effect.

It is not by small circumstances, that a judgment is to be formed of men in a serious crisis; on such occasions the human character throws off disguise, and, occupied on one single object, thinks of nothing else.

A Roman epicure said, that in the time of eating, a man should be all mouth. That he should neither use his eyes, his ears, or any sense but that of taste: so it in reality is with the strong passions.

A lover who bargains, difficultly, about the marriage portion of his mistress, is not altogether a lover:

"The ruling passion be it what it will,
"That ruling passion conquers reason still."

Whether love, or revenge, or any other strong passion predominates, prudence and reason are obliged to be silent, or if not silent, they are not heard.

We may think as we please, but there is no true spirit of resistance at *Cadiz*. The people there could not be in a better disposition of receiving and listening to the insidious promises, accompanied with threats from Bonaparte.

Had Cæsar not had resolution to cross the Rubicon, could he ever have conquered his country? If the people of Spain, like those of Cadiz, (the only part we know positively about,) are afraid to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard, they had better never think of drawing it at all; complete acquiescence and submission, or bold unqualified resistance, are the only wise measures, for they are the only ones by which Bonaparte can be induced to treat the people with any degree of humanity, as a master, or to quit the country, having failed of success.

Approving highly, as we do, of the disposition to aid Spain, we think that great pains should nevertheless be taken, to ascertain whether that aid is likely to be useful; for if Spain is subjugated after an inefficient resistance, the fate of the country will be terrible, and Bonaparte will acquire much more power, than if it peaceably submits. We may add to this, that the Spaniards will in the case of resisting, and being compelled to submit, after having got our assistance, become our determined enemies.

The Spaniards will attribute to us their resistance from false hopes given, and their failure for want of the fulfilment of promises made. These consequences are infallible, therefore, let us well consider what we are about, and how we perform what we wish to do; for if we do not take great care, the attempt to combat France on Spanish ground, will fall heavy on our heads.

Thus situated, we should recommend a manifesto, or declaration, to the people of Spain, to the following purpose.

Brave and Loyal Spaniards!

His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, sees with great pain, that owing to a weak and unwise government, the troops of Spain have been led out of the country, to far distant climes, to fight the battles of a stranger; whilst, on the most false and insidious pretences, the fortresses and places in Spain, have been filled with foreign troops.

During those measures, (by which Spain was put in the power of a pretended friend, though of a concealed enemy,) political quarrels were excited, that raised the son

against the father, and the sovereign, and by disuniting and discrediting the royal family, prepared the people for revolt.

His Majesty will not enter into details, better known to yourselves; but seeing that by a sort of unexampled treachery, under the mask of friendship, the throne of Spain has been seized upon by a stranger; his Majesty is prepared to aid you, in endeavouring to regain the independence of your country, by every means in his power.

But in thus offering his powerful aid, and without any other object than what he openly avows; he must, with frankness, emanating from his own mind, and the dignity that becomes the sovereign of a powerful people, declare the sentiments by which he is actuated, and what he wishes and expects.

Britain has long been engaged in a war to resist the subjugation of Europe, and whilst any nation was willing to contend for its liberty. the British government never refused assistance

Spain, which has long been led by fatal and perverse counsels, to assist in subduing other nations, has now, by unparallelled treachery, been compelled to fight for her own, and Britain is willing to forget the past entirely, and only to consider, that whatever has been, Spain now prepares to fight for the same cause in which Britain bleeds.

"SPANIARDS! Britain is ready unequivocally, vigorously to assist you, if you "are disposed to resist; but Britain does "not wish to excite you to resistance, for, "if that does not come from true patriotism, and a sense of the shame of Spain "becoming a submissive province of France, "a true and determined desire to preserve "liberty and independance, it were better "to submit at once, and let the tyrant "rule with uninterrupted and unresisted "sway.

"If you are not prepared to make every "sacrifice to preserve your liberty, you "will not succeed, and it would be better "to make the necessary sacrifices, to sooth "a master, whom ineffectual resistance will "only irritate to acts of cruelty and revenge."

"It is for you, brave Spaniards, to resolve what you are to do, Britain will "assist you with all her power, if it is "wanted, but Britain will not excite you "to act either one way or other. The "feelings, as men, and as Spaniards, must "be your guide, and from no other can you "take good counsel; for, unless you are "prepared for all extremities, there can "be no hope. If you do resist, imitate the "brave Hollanders, when they, in former "times, resisted you. If actuated by such "a spirit, you begin, you will succeed; "but if there is hesitation, mistrust, or "half-intentions, you must fail.

"Britain will neither bargain nor persuade. If you have no confidence do not "act, if you have not a fixed determination "do not begin; but it is not from expressions that Britain will judge, it must be "guided by your actions, and if there is no "confidence there can be no useful co-operation.—Let it not in future be said, that "Britain excited Spain to resistance, and "brought down double vengeance on her "head, abandoning her to her fate; Britain will defend Spain in the cause of "liberty, as she has fought against her "when allied to the despotic ruler of "France; but the fate of Spain must depend on her own determination. Unless "she is fully resolved to preserve her freedom at every risk, it is not by the assistance of any other nation that it can be "done—Spaniards! it is for yourselves to "determine, and when you are unanimous "and resolved, Britain will be ready "to aid you in the cause of liberty and independence."

If a proclamation or address to that purpose were issued and acted up to, it would be productive of two good consequences. It would lead the Spaniards to consider whether they are solidly and seriously prepared to resist, or if they are only making an effort with an intention to submit, if they do not find they can speedily or easily succeed; and at all events, even in the worst situation of things, it would free Britain from the reproach of first exciting and then abandoning Spain. Every thing depends upon the time that a declaration of this sort is issued; for if we give an ineffectual aid to Spain; it will be useless, when we abandon that country to its cruel master, to say, that they were irresolute and not unanimous, and that therefore we left them.—No, it is necessary to explain ourselves at first, and neither calumny, nor misrepresentation, will be able to blacken our character, after if we adhere to our professions.

We are induced to extend to some length on this subject, because the moment of consideration will soon be past, and because we condemn the negotiations that have been entered into at Cadiz.—If the Spaniards mean seriously to resist France, they would certainly, at least, give up the French ships, or man them with Spaniards, as for their own ships, that may be another thing; but the whole bears the complexion of a transaction in which there is no confidence, and as the Spaniards were divided between the fear of British aid and French oppression, and if that is the case, the latter will certainly be their portion.

Britain has no occasion to hesitate if Spain does, but she ought not to be led into such sort of negotiations, that by delay of time, are a victory to the enemy.

Admiral Purves should say, we do not want the Spanish fleet as a capture, nor even as a pledge of security; but we wish to know, whether the Spaniards are prepared seriously, to throw down the gauntlet to France. The Spaniards are not asked to give a pledge of their confidence on the British, but a pledge, or proof of their determination of never yielding to Bonaparte, and this they can only do by an act, which Bonaparte never will forgive In short, the pledge is only to prove, that they will be true to their own cause, and to the cause of liberty, which as they have hesitated to give, they are not to be trusted.

We have only to add, that we wish this article may be perused with attention NOW, and again in six months hence, in the mean time to consider, what a great advantage a conqueror enjoys, who has got the reins of government into his hands, of which the Turkish empire is a striking example.—The Turks rule over the Greeks, the original inhabitants of the extensive and fine country, their government is weak, and their number far inferior to that of the people they keep under subjection, yet, they have both in war, and in peace, maintained themselves in power for several centuries. What then is to be expected from Spain with Bonaparte, and his able generals and good soldiers, ruling over the country? We wish the Spaniards success, but we have little hope that they will be successful: however, as far as prudence and our safety admit, they should be assisted.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF SPAIN.

[*Partly from Playfair's Statistical Breviary.*]

THE foundation of the Spanish monarchy, only dates from 1491.—FERDINAND Ist. drove the Arabs from Granada, after having, by his marriage with Isabella, queen of Castile, united that part of Spain with Aragon. Before the reign of Ferdinand, Spain had been invaded by the Arabs, and only became powerful after their expulsion.

Spain was considered as the most powerful and rich kingdom in Europe. As in most cases, the power preceded the wealth, of which it was the cause, and the wealth undermined the power, of which it was the consequence.

From the reign of Ferdinand, dates the power of Spain; but the first consequence was, the expulsion of the Moors, about 1508, and about 50 years afterwards, under Charles V. the conquest of Mexico and Peru, opened the road to the accumulation of wealth from the mines, and the depopulation of the country, by emigration.

Goldsmith had this in his mind, when he wrote the two lines, as true as they are beautiful.

" Ill fares the land, to many woes a prey,
" Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

The precious metals were imported by millions, and the natives of Old Spain, crowded over in immense numbers, to participate in the wealth of the new discovered country.

Spain at that period, gave the fashion to Europe, as France began to do a century after; but the government was badly conducted, agriculture neglected, and luxury and laziness, which accompanied gold, operated as so many combined causes, to reduce by degrees, and insensibly, the power of Spain, when the wild projects and ambition of Phillip the Second, brought on a more rapid and visible decay.

At the time when that monarch vainly thought, with his invincible armada, to invade and subdue England, his coffers were so exhausted, that he was reduced to borrow money in Italy, though that great armament, only carried about as many guns and as many men, as the privateers from Liverpool did in the year 1794!!

Spain has long been considered only as a power of the second class, and since the revolution of France began, it has acted with a want of energy, for which, even its diminished industry, is not a sufficient apology.

The form of government is monarchical, and the sovereigns have been of the family of Bourbon, since the family of Austria, ceased to occupy the throne.

The Cortez, is a deliberating assembly, representing the people with a controling power, over the executive; but like the states general of France, has not been convened for a long period, and when it is, great changes may very probably take place, had it not been for the sudden revolution effected by Bonaparte.

The extent in square miles, is	148,000
Number of inhabitants	11,000,000
Persons to a square mile	74
Number of English acres	94,000,000
Acres of land to each person	8½
Revenue in sterling British	£ 14,000,000
Public debt	£ 48,000,000
Land forces in time of peace	104,000
Ships of the line	74
Frigates and ships	56
Leagues of sea coast	466
Inhabitants in the capital (Madrid)	140,000
Number of acres in cultivation	40,000,000
Number of parishes	19,600
Number of clergy	300,000

Chief cities, Madrid, Cadiz, Valentia, Sevelle, Barcelona.

The produce, wines, fruits of all sorts, olives, grain, rice, saffron, barilla, saltpetre, gold and silver, iron, lead, copper, quicksilver, cinnaber and antimony.

Spain has great resources within herself, and if she had energy, industry, and resolution, might force France to respect her independence; as things are, we can say little on that head.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT ANALIZED.

We intended to make an analize of the proceedings through this session, but we shall reserve that for our second volume, meaning to divide the labours of the Commons into the following heads, stating the number of hours occupied on each subject, and on all.

1. Annual necessary business of routine, such as the mutiny bill, votes of thanks, &c. &c.

2. Private bills, that have no relation to political party, and political objects.

3. Questions discussed from party motives, such as the affair of Copenhagen, calls for papers, and such things as create argument, but lead to no efficient effect.

4. Questions having a tendency to create discontent, such as the Roman catholic question, the catholics, and the bank of Ireland, &c. &c.

5. Questions that it is necessary to discuss, such as the new taxes, the local militia, and other business of importance that occurs in the current of events.

6. Plans for the amelioration of public affairs, or of the private situation of the subject,

We cannot at present state the particulars, but we know enough, to be able to say, that the order of utility and importance has not been preserved, and when the session finishes, we shall give the account with candour and accuracy, which will be of more use that the vague complaint, that parliament is losing its time, whether such assertions are made in the spirit of truth, or the spirit of complaint. Wherever there are parties it is of particular utility to state facts, as each party exaggerates, and nobody knows the truth, from which alone a judgment ought to be formed. It would be improper to enter upon observations on the subject, as the information announced will be given expressly to serve as a solid ground for observation, but we cannot hesitate to lament, that at the present moment, (certainly pregnant with great events) none of that spirit that might and ought to be expected animates the house.

The witticisms of WINDHAM and SHERIDAN, who are rivals in conceit, and who both deserve to be stiled M. A. still produce laughter. The rapid strides of Bonaparte to universal power, and the fall of nation after nation, excite no serious concern. It seems as if such events were matter for curiosity and speculation, but had no immediate relation to the welfare of this country!!

Bills about hares, partridges, and game keepers, still attract attention, and those that concern the criminial or civil law, are noticed only by a few!!

The great majority of members is always absent, and those who attend coincide wonderfully uniformly with each other in opinion, just as if the questions belonged to one general system, or as if the minds of those who vote, were guided by some general rule in speaking, and giving that vote.

It might be difficult to see the connection between the conduct of the Marquis of Wellesley, Sir Home Popham, the attack on Copenhagen, the Admiralty droits, concessions to America, and Irish Catholics; yet strange it is, that the same persons, with a few exceptions, stick to the same side of the question in all, there must, therefore, be some connection either between the questions discussed, or the men who discuss them. This, however, we shall not enter upon at present, but on some future opportunity observing, however, (as it is our duty to do), that there is a general indifference throughout the country to what has been passing, that is very different from what used to take place in England; and notwith-

standing our high opinion of British firmness and patriotism, and our confidence in the good intention of those who conduct the executive government—we are not without uneasiness. Our enemy has ten times our energy, and he has sworn our destruction, for accomplishing which his means increase every day, and at the same time our indifference increases almost in an equal proportion. What true British subject can see this without anxiously asking the question—Where will all this end?

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS, OR PUBLIC OPINION.

TO THE EDITOR OF ANTICIPATION.

SIR,

I AM what may be termed, one of the old political school, and had I lived in King William's time, I should have been considered as a fair, and a staunch whig, but those that call themselves whigs now, are a very different discription of people. In my mind, they approach nearer to the character of traitors, and incendiaries, for their chief object appears to be to excite discontent, knowing well that disturbances sooner or later will follow.

As I have lived long, and known many of the first men for talents and information of the age, both at home and abroad; and as with all its faults, I am firmly attached to the government and religion of the country, such as they are established, I have the vanity to think, that I may explain the source from which their danger arises.

An established government, with the enjoyment of power, generally feels security, and frequently neglects the origin of power, which is in the opinion of the people.

OPINION, Sir, presides over every thing, except what may be termed PROPENSITY, and even then it is a companion. A man may love his children from propensity, he may fall in love with a woman in the same manner, without consulting or being guided by his opinion, though he always tries to bring over his opinion to favor the choice his propensity has made. This is not the case in approving of a government, either in its form or practice. There you must have opinion, founded either on reason, or experience, or on both.

The security of an established government, and also of an established clergy, is such, that neither ministers of kings, nor established ministers of religion, feel how insecure their tenure is, if they do not obtain opinion and preserve it in their favour.

The French government, or the church and state, fell, precisely from a total neglect of public opinion, and what is not a little curious, Bonaparte, with all his despotism, rules by public opinion. In that has he planted his power, for that does he depend on its preservation, though upon it he has constructed a military despotism, that, to slight observers, may appear unconnected with opinion.

The governments that France has overturned, all of them slighted and despised public opinion, for they knew not its value; and it gives me great pain and uneasiness to observe, that in this country it is equally undervalued.

The men that go by the name of *All the Talents*, that British constillation did, (I must do them justice), set some value upon public opinion, and it is owing to that very circumstance that they are not totally detested, but such have been their indefatigable endeavours, that in defiance of fact and of experience, people really do think them to be men of talents. They are ignorant enough to think, that Lord Gray and Lord Holland are statesmen, and that Lord Henry Petty knows something of finance. They even think that Lord Lauderdale, understands as well

how to negotiate between France and England, as he does how to decide a boxing match between two blackguards. They think in contradiction to truth, that he acted better than Lord Yarmouth when in France, merely because Lauderdale is a member of talents club, and Yarmouth is not yet a member. The present men, who, in my opinion, have ten times the useful talents, are considered as not having any, for they despise public opinion, and take none of the methods necessary to gain it over, either to favour themselves, or the measures they adopt.

When Lord Henry Petty, brought forth his plan of finance, it was trumpeted forth all over the Continent, yet, it was, in fact a most ruinous measure, and not his own. One part was copied from Mr. Neckar, that was the supplimental loans, a mode of ruining a country by a sort of *slight of hand Anticipation*; the other part consisting of the advantage of a sinking fund at five per cent. to pay off the capital in fourteen years, was copied from a plan, published and dedicated to his father in 1886, when he was a boy.

Supported thus, on borrowed crutches, still the young man is admitted one of the first in the talents club, because the most part of those, who can write and direct public opinion, are willing to give them all the praise they can; and his Lordship has had the wisdom and address, to make a number of them his friends.

Of all the monarchs who have ever reigned, and enjoyed ease during their lives, or obtained honour after their death, we do not find one who did not consult public opinion, and depend upon it as their surest support. What is said of kings will apply, with equal truth, to their ministers.

The last sovereign who turned this means to advange in Britain, was Queen Elizabeth, who, though very despotic both in principle and practice, gained the love of her people, and the good opinion of posterity.

Sir Robert Walpole was the last British minister who availed himself much of the influence of the press on the public mind, and by that, and a popular sort of behaviour, he contrived to rule with great ease, and to extend the royal prerogative.

The last monarch in France, who employed the same means, was Lewis XIV. and with uncommon success, for though far from a great man, he almost obtained the title of a great sovereign, and during his life it was that the French nation, became such ridiculous admirers of sovereign prerogative.

His successors, by a contrary course, soon ruined themselves and abandoned their place to those who courted public opinion, and we have seen how THEY have succeeded in winding up the machine, to a greater pitch than ever.

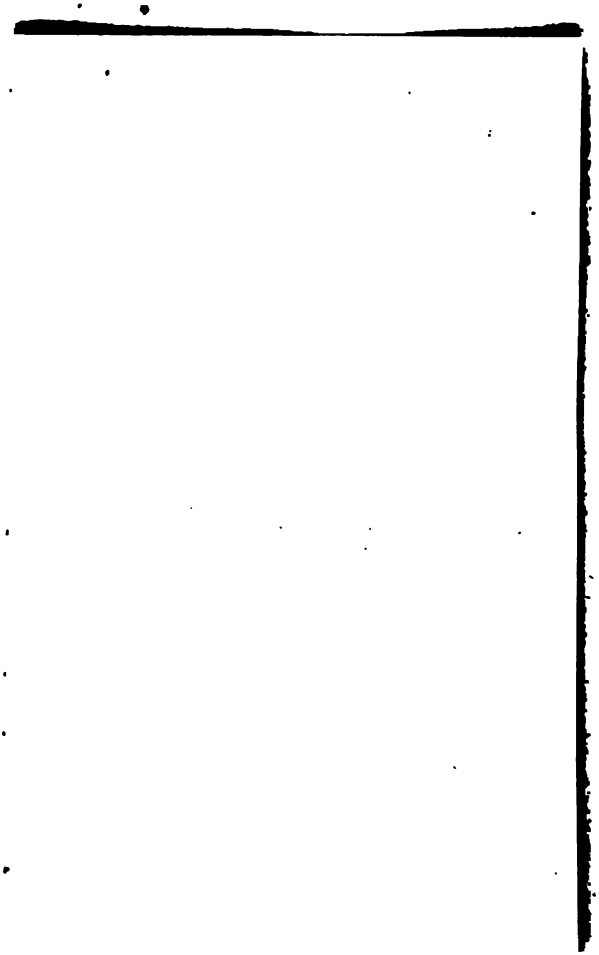
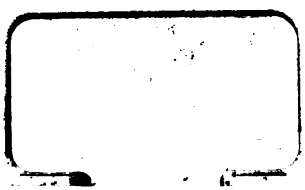
In all history we learn, (before the influence of the press, as well as since), that monarchs who ruled easily and well, availed themselves of public opinion. The only difference was, that before the use of printing became general, the means was different. Then great or splended actions, an affable behavour, or a manner of conducting themselves, was the way by which sovereigns became popular: and we have not a bad, though a very natural unadorned, and no doubt true example, in Absalom, one of the princes of Israel, who by condecention, affability and promises, gained the affections of the people, so as to be able to raise a very formidable civil war against his father, who himself was a man of popular talents, and a great warrior.

[*To be continued.*]

END OF VOL I.

Printed by W. Glindon, *Rupert-street, Haymarket; and published for the Proprietors, 24, Portugal-street, Long Acre,* AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE NEWSMEN.

1



B.D. DEC 1 1914